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THE  
**EPISTLE**  
CONGRATULATORY  
OF  
**Lyfimachus Nicanor**  
*Of the Society of JESU,*  
TO THE  
**COVENANTERS**  
**IN SCOTLAND.**

Wherein is paralleled our sweet Harmony  
and correspondency in divers material points  
of Doctrine and Practice.

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Judg. 5. 23.

*Curse ye Meroz (said the Angel of the Lord) curse ye bitterly the Inhabitants thereof: because they came not to the help of the Lord against the Mighty.*

Jer. 1. 10.

*See, I have this day set thee over the Nations, and over the Kingdomes, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant.*

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OXFORD,

Printed by Leon. Lichfield, Printer to the University,  
and are to be sold by Tho. Fickus 1684.





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TO THE  
Right Worshipful  
**GEORGE PLIDSEY K<sup>t</sup>.**  
Deputy Lieutenant of the County,  
AND  
RECORDE of the City, of OXON,  
One of his Majesties Justices of the Peace &c.  
SIR,

**W**HEN this first appear'd, the iniquity  
of the times would neither permit the  
Author to win, or a Patron to defend it:  
The private satisfaction of having done his du-  
ty, and closely follow'd Truth, was all the re-  
ward the Loyal Gentleman obtain'd; and it  
was an unexpected Happineſs to be safe then,  
whilst he ventured to be honest: A zealous  
Lover of the Author, and a friend to Truth,  
now discloseth him to publick fame; and puts  
an Inscription on his Monument, that all may  
understand whose 'tis, whilst they admire at the  
curiousness of the Fabrick: It hath liv'd with

## The Epistle

out a Patron, and will be still able to support it self; as long as Loyalty hath any Votaries, the King faithful Subjects, or the Church any true Sons; It hath been already determin'd by a Wise King and his grave Council, that Truth is strongest: and then how can it's Enemies prevail? Let malice openly assault, Cunning and Artifice secretly undermine, Her foundation is on a Rock, above the force of the one, and the contrivances of the other: Yet tho it wants no defence, it begs an Ornament, and eagerly desires a reputation deriv'd from your Name. And that will give it as much credit, as if Loyalty were stamp't upon it's Title: We knew the time when the pulse of Faction beat high, and the Nation shew'd the desperate Symptoms of a Feavor; and we are not ignorant to what Physicians the credit of the cure is due; should we place your skill, as in your proper Station, very much conducing to this blessed recovery, there are sufficient instances to prove it no flattery: and the due honors they have so unanimously

## DEDICATORY.

*mously conferr'd on you, is a strong argument that the immoderate heats are allay'd, and their lost senses perfectly restor'd: It must be confess'd next a Miracle to open their Eyes, whom Zeal hath blinded, to be able to still jealousies and fears, and mollify those hearts, which prejudice hath steel'd: Yet these are the daily wonders you do, your instructive example insinuates, your prudence surprizes, and your only Eloquence glides into their Souls, so that their hardness cannot secure, nor their stubbornness defend them: Salust upbraids Tully for tyrannizing over the Senate; for chaining them to his tongue, and leading them captive after his own humor; This is a reproof applicable only to abused Eloquence, when the best gift of Heaven is debas'd to Hell, and employ'd to cover the deformity of disloyal or unjust Associations; but when it sets off the goodness and mercy of a King; bewails the miseries of a Civil War, and reclaims a City, who would not be content to yield and confess it's*  
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## The Epistle &c.

power by the sudden reformation of his mind? Tis true there are some who are all Anvil and Adamant, neither to be bent, nor broken; whom either interest or perversness hath cast in a Fanatical Mould, so that no art or industry can reduce them to any tolerable figure; If Satyr would suit well with your tenderness, just indignation would force me to consider their particular deserts, and pursue them like wild Bores, who endeavor to root up that Tree upon whose fruit they have fed, and grown wanton: But you are skil'd in forgiving Enemies, and eminently follow that Kings goodness, to whom you are so Loyally devoted; This is to love him truly, to make Him your Example; and by your actions to let the World know what Prince you serve; Such accomplishments will give security to the present, and promise future honors; for whose encrease the wishes of all the Loyal are employ'd, chiefly those of

SIR

Your most Humble Servant

LEON. LICHFIELD.

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## To the READER.

MANY zealous *Patriots* of the *Good old Cause* have often bent their most vigorous endeavours to persuade the credulous into an easie belief of it's *Dove-like* innocence, who have been still extreamly desirous that the just abhorrence of it's destructive principles, raised in the minds of all sober and discerning persons, should be wholly charged upon the misrepresentations of prejudice and interest: And the various hypocritical insinuations made use of for the accomplishing this their important design, tho in themselves utterly groundless, have not proved altogether unsuccessful: But whoever shall take the pains impartially to examine, what a very malign influence the most natural tendencies of it's avowed tenets have on the peace and order of all well settled constitutions, will soon find abundant reason to conclude, that the foulest practices are highly justifiable barely upon the strength of such unsound Politicks. None indeed lay a closer claim to a submissive and governable temper than the *Dissenting party*, nor boast half so loud of an irreconcilable enmity to *Papery*; (whilst others of a more gentle spirit are without the least shew of reason scurrilously traduced by them as making gradual advances towards *Rome*) and yet that there is not so great a distance maintained between these two only seemingly opposite extremes, as is commonly clamoured, but that the most celebrated Champions on each hand do very amicably conspire to undermine the legal establishments of our *Church* and *State*, is fully cleared in the following Epistolary treatise: The scope of which is to frame from the received writings of both sides an exact Parallel of their equally pernicious doctrines, inconsistent with the security of goverment.

The

(a) See a  
Sermon preached on the  
30th. of Jan.  
by Dr. George  
Hicks. London  
1683 in quar.  
pag. 28th. in  
the margent.  
(b) London  
1682 in quar.

(c) 1594, re-  
printed at  
London 1681  
in oct.

(d) London  
1678.

(e) London  
1655 in quar.

The Author hereof doth not stand single (a) in this his undertaking; for the proof of our *Fanaticks* directly falling in with the most dangerous assertions, even of the *Jesuits* themselves, hath not been judged a task so very difficult, as to have discouraged all from ever attempting it. An *Anonymous* Author of a piece, entitled, *The Apostate Protestant* (b) &c. hath undeniably shewn that *Rob. Parson's* pestilent book, called, *A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England* &c. (more known generally by the name of the *Book of Titles*) published under the disguise of *R. Doleman* (c), hath been the main *Common-place*, whence most of our late so much applauded *Pamphletcers* have drawn their chiefest materials, for the better furnishing out their many scandalous Libels against the *Church, Monarchy, and Succession*: Neither are these the only men, whom this *Jesuit's* book hath thus eminently obliged; for it hath been more than once observed in print, that the matter and expressions (some few less material passages excepted) Of the several *Speeches* pretended to have been delivered (as a preparative to the King's murder) at a Conference concerning the power of *Parliaments* to proceed against their *Kings* for misgovernment (d), were taken out of the said book; and that *Bradshaw's* long speech at the condemnation of the *King*, with *A Treatise concerning the broken Succession of the Crown of England* (e), to make way for the *Usurper*, were cast in the same worst of *Jesuit's* mould; which, as to the last, is fairly owned in a short note annexed at the close of the said treatise; now the great design of *Parson's* Conference, was to baffle the title of *King James* to the *Crown of England*, animate the people to rebellion, and introduce the *Roman Catholick Religion*: And it hath been as often remarked that the grounds on which the unnatural and bloody War began, and was carried on, the principles and arguments, with which *J. Goodwin's* and *J. Milton's* infamous vindications of the proceedings against the best of *Kings* were stuffed, together with the *Parliamentary Declarations, Ordinances, Speeches, and Pamphlets* of the late times, (not to mention some of their *Sermons*) were for the most

part



part exact transcripts from those leading originals, which their Masters the *Jesuits* set them.

So that to make good the charge of their trading with *Papists* in the most seditious and rankest principles, (a due sense whereof ought to create in all free *Princes* and *States* the like jealousy of the actions of both) we need not have recourse to such Popish Writers as *Father Pateson* in his *Image of both Churches* ( <sup>(1)</sup> ) &c. or *Philanax Anglicus*; ( <sup>(2)</sup> ) &c. ( <sup>(f)</sup> ) London 1653 in Twel. 2d edit. published under the false name of *Tho. Bellamy*, who labour all the ways, which either a malicious invention, or perverted history can possibly administer, to dress up *Protestantisme* in the most formidable shape, and vainly endeavour to free ( <sup>(g)</sup> ) London 1662 in octavo second edit. their own Church from all suspicion of disloyalty, so often unanswerably proved upon her; designing thereby no less than to bring so great an odium upon the profession of the former, sufficient to secure those from revolting, who are already within the pale of their Church, and win over all others to the embracing it's Communion. I shall not go about to vindicate a sort of men of the sowerest complexion, who of late have usurpt the distinguishing title of true *Protestants*, (tho of all others they least deserve it) from the imputation of expressly asserting *King-killing doctrines*, which these men manage against them; for it must be confessed to the lasting scandal of that name, which our *Conventiclers* out of a kind of modesty peculiar to themselves have thought fit to appropriate to their own turbulent faction, that the constant tenor of their writings and actions have given too just an occasion for the said Authors, and others, fixing upon them that accusation; from which I think they will not be able easily to clear themselves; But to impeach any of the true English *Episcoparians*, who have flourisht since the Reformation, and in all the most perplext junctures of affairs, have still approved themselves unalterably faithful to the *Crown*, of the same guilt with our fiery and trayterous Separatists, as both these Writers do, is a piece of frontless calumny, which none but such bigoted *Papists* would have adventured on. or our modern thorough-paced *Dissenters*. (who have ridiculously

(b)

as

as well as fallily charged the rise of the late Rebellion on some Prelatists) of whose sullen and inflexible constitution uncharitable censoriousness and ill-nature seem to make up two principal ingredients.

(h) *The History of the wicked Plots and Conspiracies of our pretended Saints &c.* by Mr. Henry Foulis Oxford, 1662 in fol. Doctor Hicks in his *Sermons* above cited. The frequent quotations, which some learned men (h) have taken hence, have gained it no mean repute among others; who have often employed their utmost diligence for it's procurement, and when at any time fortunately obtained, have always esteemed it as a prize of no ordinary value; which plainly shews what a good opinion the more intelligent have generally conceived of it's real worth and excellence. That a treatise, to which it so nearly concerned them, at whom it points, to have returned a speedy and satisfactory reply, should yet remain so long unanswered; (for the railing and insignificant flirts of that grand Scotch incendiary Mr. Rob. Baily (i), with the weaker poetical sallies of his Countryman under the vizor of Philopatrius (k) cannot by any means deserve that name) doth at once evidence, that the unquestioned faithfulness of the Collector had fortified it securely against all pertinent attacks; and renders them, at whom it levels, obnoxious to the same common guilt with the worst of Papists.

(i) *Postscript for the perfonate Jesuit Lyfmacus Nicanor at the end of his Latinum Avro* &c. London in quar. 3d edition. Mr. John Corbet a Scotch-man born, and Minister there of Bonyl, one of the Collegiate Churches of the Provostry of Dumbarton, is commonly agreed on, of all others, to have been most probably the Author of the ensuing Epistle; for the conjectures of Baily (i), that Jo. Maxwell Archbishop of Tuam, then Bishop of Killala, Hen. Lesley Bishop of Meath, then of Down and Connor, Dav. Mitchel Bishop of Aberdene, somewhat before this one of the Preachers of Edinburgh, all three Scotch-men, were Authors thereof, are very roving and uncertain; and little credit would have been given to what he surmises in the same place concerning Bishop Bramhall's assisting in it's compofure, were not the same attested by a much more authentick hand (n); but this Author himself was afterwards of a different persuasion: For in his *Review* (n) of Bishop Bramhall's *Fair warning* to take heed of Scottish Discipline &c. (as I find him cited by

(k) *Counter-Buff* to Lyfmacus Nicanor 1640 in quar. (i) *Postscript &c.* above cited p. 4th. (m) *Life of J. Bramhal Arch-Bishop of Armagh &c.* by J. Bishop of Limerick Dublin 1677. (n) Printed at Delf 1649.



by the excellent Author of the *Friendly Debate* (o) he owns (o) *Postscript*  
 Mr. Corbet to have wrot it; and according to that singular (o) *to an appendix*  
 privilege, which men of his judgement ordinarily assume to (o) *to the further*  
 themselves, of being privy to the reasons of all Gods Provi- (o) *continuation*  
 dential dispensations towards them, who have at any time in (o) *&c. London*  
 a more signal manner appeared against their proceedings, (o) *1670. i. 108. p.*  
 he positively pronounced, that God had inflicted *strange* and (o) *177. 178*  
*visible punishments* on him, and Arch-Bishop Maxwell, Author (p) *Reprin-*  
 of *Sacro-Sancta Regum Majestas*, (p) *ted at London*  
 &c. (which is impotent- (p) *1680. in oct.*  
 ly carped at by the fiery Scotch Disciplinarian Mr. Sam- (q) *London*  
 Rutherford in that Master-piece of rebellion, *Lex, Rex*, (q) *1644 in quar.*  
 &c.) and *The burden of Issachar* (r) *&c. Now these visible*  
*judgements* on the former, as Mr. Rich. Watson in his *Second* (r) *Printed*  
*fair warning* (r) assures, were no other than that he was (r) *1646 in quar.*  
 murdered in the *Irish rebellion*: For understanding, when (r) *Printed.*  
 as yet in his own Country, that the *Covenant* (against (r) *1651.*  
 which *Mystery* of iniquity, as a thing in it self absolutely  
 unlawful, he had all along resolutely declared his honest  
 sentiments) was at last with force and violence to be pressed  
 upon him; and being withal a professed enemy to those  
 Informations for defensive arms against the King's Majesty,  
 which were about that time ordained to be read by all  
 Ministers out of their Pulpits; therefore to avoid taking the  
 one, and that he might not own the justness of the other, he  
 with John Maxwell then Bishop of Ross, and many others, fly  
 for security into Ireland; before this, he had refused two  
 or three summons from the brethren of the Presbytery of  
 Dumbarton, for his appearance before them, who threat-  
 ned him, if he continued in his obstinacy, with deprivation, as  
 a person altogether unworthy of the function of the Mi-  
 nistry, and was moreover made sensible that others had  
 laid a Plot, for the taking away his Life.

Being in Ireland, he could not long escape the notice  
 of the very learned Doctor Bramhal then Bishop of Derry,  
 who quickly discovering him to be a person of no mean  
 attainments in solid learning, and to be admirably well  
 qualified to do eminent service for the Church then threat-  
 ned with ruine, accordingly employs him therein; here

he acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of this great Prelate, that upon the vacancy of a living in the Diocese of Killala, he earnestly recommends him for it's procurement to *Archibald Adair* then Bishop of that See, and Mr. *Corbet's* Countryman; who was so far from granting him his reasonable suit, that he received him after the most rude and inhuman manner, by scoffingly condemning him for not submitting to the Covenant with the rest of his brethren, justifying the cruelties used against him for his refusal of the same, breaking out often into the most virulent and imbittered expressions, and at last dismissing him with this peremptory declaration, that he should not have where so much as to set his foot off in his Diocese: (')

(c) *Life of*  
*Arch. Bishop*  
*Bramhal as a-*  
*bouc.*

This rough and unexpected entertainment could not but wound the good man afresh; one would have thought that this passionate Bishop might have contented himself with a bare denial of his request, and that the relation arising from their being of the same Country (which of it self often lays the foundation of the most affectionate endearments,) might have obliged him at least to the common offices of civility, especially towards him, who was at that time an exile too; but that one of his character should delight himself in nothing more than to load a person so deserving with all the most unbecoming reproaches, was such an unpardonable instance of unnaturalness, which will cast an immortal blot on his memory: This very severe usage of Mr. *Corbet* by Bishop *Adair* coming to the knowledge of the Bishop of *Derry*, he was summoned into the High Commission Court, censured, and at last deprived in *St. Patrick's Church* near *Dublin*, being the same place in which he had before in the year 1630 received Consecration; yet notwithstanding this sentence of deposition pronounced against him, he was July the 13<sup>th</sup> 1641 by the gracious favour of *King Charles I.* translated to the Bishoprick of *Waterford*, and died at *Bristol* about the year 1647.

Mr. *Corbet* soon after his arrival in *Ireland*, publishes a Book, dedicated to *Tho. Earl of Strafford*, entitled, *The ungirding of the Scottish Armour: Or, An answer to the infor-*

*mations;*

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mations for defensive Armes (u) &c. This, with the ensuing Epistle, and *Examen Conjuratōis Scotsanae*, being wrot out of an honest design plainly to manifest the utter unwarrantableness of those means employed by the *Covenanters of Scotland* for the carrying on a sort of Reformation then begun in that Church, were soon after their coming forth looked upon, as very destructive of those measures taken for it's farther advancement, and to be of the most weighty importance; For the *Scotch Commissioners* in the managery of their charge against the Earl of *Strafford* (x) for his pretended ill services done to that Nation, among other things objected to him, urge his countenancing these three pieces, his pratronizing and (as they say) rewarding the Authors of them, as matter of the most accumulative guilt; but whoever shall judge aright of things by duely weighing what bloody, and before unheard of, resolutions these furious zealots, with others, were at that time hotly engaged in against the said Earl, who had so highly deserved of his *Prince and Country*, will not be inclined to entertain e're the worse opinion of these works, for finding them so very abusively characterized by such men, as full of *calumnies, slanders, and scurrilities*.

That scattering, and very imperfect, account of the Author, which I could by any means glean up, leaves me wholly ignorant of the preferments, which he enjoyed in *Ireland*; (if any at all,) as likewise of most things, which befel him there, after the implacable fury of the enraged *Covenanters* had forced him to quit his native Country; saving that he was killed (as is above said) by the *Irish* rebels, and it is guessed in the year 1641. To obviate all mistakes which may be occasioned by the great confusion usually arising from the same names, it may be here noted, that there was another *John Corbet* (y) quite different from him now mentioned, who receiving his Academical education in *Magdalen-Hall, Oxon*, became afterwards a Non-Conformist Writer of some eminence in the opinion of those of his own Brotherhood.

If the true sons of the *Scotch Kirk* shall alledge in their own

(u) Dublin  
1639 in quar.

(x) *The Ty-*  
*al of Thomas*  
*Earl of Straf-*  
*ford &c. pub-*  
*lished by that*  
*partial Col-*  
*lectur John*  
*Rushworth*  
*Esq; London*  
*1680 in fol. p.*  
*770.*

(y) Of whom  
see a brief ac-  
count in *Histo-*  
*ria & Antiqui-*  
*tates Universi-*  
*tatis Oxoniæ.*  
*Oxon 1674 in*  
*fol. lib. 2. pag.*  
*378 col. 1.*

- own defence, that the principles herein condemned, by a sincere and orthodox Protestant personating a *Jesuit*, have been long since universally disowned by their brethren now living; besides that whoever insist on this Plea would do well to produce some publick writing, wherein they are thus perfectly disclaimed; *Ravillac Redivivus* <sup>(2)</sup>, and *The Spirit of Popery* <sup>(3)</sup> &c. will acquaint you at large with many of their later doctrines and practices, wherein, if possible, they have outstript their Predecessors in the complicated villanies of treason, murder, rebellion, and other the most dissolute immoralities. And least the men of our own *Disseminating fraternity* should fondly imagine that what is here delivered cannot with any tolerable appearance of reason be so interpreted, as to touch them in their reputation; whoever therefore desire to be satisfied after what an obedient manner they have of late years demeaned themselves towards the lawful government, and how very favourable they have been to it, and it's regular adherents, in the moderation of their positions and actions; let them peruse *Mercurius Rusticus* <sup>(b)</sup>, Mr. Tho. Edward's *Gangrena* &c. in three parts <sup>(c)</sup>. *Persecutio undecima* <sup>(d)</sup> &c. Mr. Cle. Walker's *History of Independency* under the name of *Theodorus Verax* in three parts, with a fourth added by T. M. <sup>(e)</sup>. Mr. Foulis's *History* &c. above cited. *Evangelium Armatum* <sup>(f)</sup>. *The Friendly Debate* in four parts <sup>(g)</sup>. Doctor P. Heylyn's *History of the Presbyterians* <sup>(h)</sup>. Both parts of Mr. Rog. L' Estrange's *Dissenters Sayings* <sup>(i)</sup>. Two of Doctor Hick's Sermons, one, entituled, *Peculium Dei* <sup>(k)</sup>, the other preached on the 30<sup>th</sup> of Jan. 1681. Sir William Dugdale's *Short view of the late troubles in England* <sup>(l)</sup> &c. Doctor John Nalson's two Volumes of *Impartial Collections of the great affairs of State* <sup>(m)</sup> &c. and his *Countermines* <sup>(n)</sup> &c. *The late judgement and decree of the University of Oxford past in their Convocation July 21. 1683.* with many other treatises and discourses to the like purpose, and then let them tell me, whether there be not an exact harmony between the brethren of the *English* and *Scottish* separation: But because some of the former books are large, and others
- (2) London 1678 in quar.  
(a) London 1680 in fol.  
(b) 1646 in  
(c) London 1646 in quar.  
(d) 1648 in  
(e) London 1661 in quar.  
(f) London 1663 in quar.  
(g) London 1669 and 1670 in oct.  
(h) Oxford 1670 in fol.  
(i) First part London 1683 in quar. 4th edit. Second part London 1681 in quar. 2d edit.  
(k) London 1681 in quar.  
(l) Oxford 1681 in fol.  
(m) London 1682 and 1683 in fol.  
(n) London 1684 in oct. 4th edit.

To the READER.

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of them not easily to be procured, I hope that the shortness of the following piece, joyned with other it's peculiar incidental advantages, will give it so fair a recommendation, as that it may meet with a kind acceptance.

I presume that the just apprehensions of the great dangers under which the Nation at present labours, from the hellish *Plots* and *Conspiracies* of the *Fanatical* faction will excuse for not offering any other argument, whereby to induce a belief of the seasonableness of this Epistles publication; altho the insolent defiance of so many late venomous Pamphlets, against the spreading infection of some of which this perhaps may not improperly be applied as a suitable antidote, might of it self have justified the reasonableness of it's now appearing abroad a second time. If it prove so happy as to serve to confirm any in a closer adherence to their former Loyalty, to resolve the causeless scruples of others, who have been wavering in the due exercise of that great duty, or shall in any measure conduce to the reclaiming them, who by the cunning and subtilty of their crafty Leaders have been hitherto seduced into mischievous errors, by others reaping so considerable benefits, the publisher will obtain to himself the utmost of what he proposed.

OXON, Jan.

14. 1682

LTSL





LYSIMACHVS NICANOR

of the Societie of J E S U,  
TO THE COVENANTERS  
IN SCOTLAND

*Wisheth Union and Peace with us.*



Do heartily congratulate with you  
( *most worthy Brethren of the holy  
League* ) and also rejoyce in behalf  
of our Mother-Church of *Rome* at your  
begun return from your former errors  
and heresies. This puts us in expecta-  
tion, that shortly your return shall be  
full: for seeing in so short time, and  
with so good success, you have forsaken the former errone-  
ous Doctrine of the *Protestants* concerning the *Civil Ma-  
gistrate*, and have happily joyned with us, you will also be-  
times abjure all that yet remaineth. You have so well begun  
at the *Head*, the *Civil Magistrate*, that we trust you shall em-  
brace the remanent members of our doctrine with a continu-  
ed success, whereof you may justly glory.

*Quod fortunatum faciat quis dicere falsum  
Audeat, & tanta suffragia vincere sortis ?*

I remember the salutation that was given to the Scots  
Protector (who is now our holy Eather *Pope Urbanus*) about  
the time of his Inauguration and Consecration to be Pope,  
*Salve Protector Scotorum*, and his answer, *Agnosco nomen &  
omen*: And now he is more ready to protect you than ever  
he was, since you draw so near to him. And yet at your last  
defection to your King again at the Camp, we feared your  
revolt to your rejected Protestant doctrine: but this your  
last Protestation, wherein you recollect your strength, puts  
us in hope that you will not return to your vomit. *Julij 1639.*

And albeit the Anticovenanters think you so near the  
A height

height of impietie, that they say,  
*Nil erit ulterius quod vestris moribus addat  
 Posteritas.*

Yet we think it praise worthy that you are come to such degrees of perfection, that your posterity shall be so farr from out-stripping you, that they, imitating you, shall take you for their pattern. To them it shall be sufficient glory (seeing they cannot go beyond you) to do the same things which you have done: *eadem capient facientq; minores.* And therefore you do most prudently in your *Protestations* defend your *Covenanting without and against Authority*, lest acknowledging a fault herein, you should defraud your posterity of the like remedy; or to use your own words, *You should precondemn also the like laudable course in the like necessity to be taken by the Posterity.* And therefore it is your wisdom to stand to the justification of all your proceedings, and to refuse an *Ast of Oblivion*, and accept of no less than an *Ast of Justification.* It is so farr from being a fault which you have done, in taking the Kings Castles, and thrusting out his other subjects out of their houses, with your other actions, that it is rather a *meritorious work*; and therefore you say well, *We deserve and expect approbation and thanks from his Majestie in his own due time, for keeping his evil Counsellors and bad Patriots from putting hand in his best subjects.* And in your last Petition to his Majesty after your Assembly, to desire your King to approve of your proceedings, you say, that *you are assured of his justification of your actions, and that you are afraid you shall be thought to have offended in nothing so much as Lenity.*

The *Anticovenanters* are no more offended with your writ and printed Books, (which they call infamous Libels, and Jesuitical Pasquils) than they do please us, nor that we delight in your contention; as the *Vulture* in the Apologie beheld the strife of the *Lion* and the *Bore*, to snatch they prey from both parties, but with an assured hope that within short time you shall become our *fratres fraterripini*, for your writings and actions promise no less; as being most conducive for our ends and grounded upon our arguments. You shall do us no small pleasure, if you will cause to be drawn up such heads of

Do-

Protestat. in  
 Sept. 1638  
 Reas. 5.

Protest. 18.  
 Decemb. 1638



Doctrīne, wherein we do now of late agree, that setting those apart, as *not controverted*, we may conferre with you in that wherein as yet we *differ*: and in the mean time, as by your diligent perusal of our books, our strong reasons have prevailed with you; so I pray you be instant in reading of them: which I hope shall produce the like effect in that which remaineth. For a preparative to this work, I will thankfully remember (so far as my weak memory will serve) some points, which by hearing and reading your papers, I find to be *ours*, and from us wisely received by *you*.

First, your dislike of *Monarchical government* doth please us very well; for we dislike it so much, that to speak this under the *Rose* we cannot grant it to the Pope himself, but with such restrictions and limitations; that what we grant him now, we may take it from him the next day to our selves, as I might instance in many particulars; but especially in his *infallibility* and *temporal power*; which we give him with such distinctions & limitations (if you will consider our books, that we intend for *our selves*, that we<sup>h</sup> we give him. But more especially, we agree with you in contemning the *Monarchical government* of the *Civil Magistrate*: for as we say by that great pillar of our Church, *Bellar. de Rom. Pont. l. 1. c. 3.* *Hac gubernatio id requirit, ut sit quidam in republica summus aliquis Princeps, qui & omnibus imperet, & nulli subiciatur*, that is, government requireth this, that there should be indeed in the republick some Prince, that is Supreme, both to command all, and be subject to none. For this government hath this great inconvenience, that when the Prince doth wrong his subjects (as you protest your King doth you) there is no remedy but *patience*; for why, all the Judges under him are but his *Deputies*, and all the power and authority they have of the *Sword*, is the *Kings*, and it can never stand with sense or reason, that his Majesties *own Power* and *Authority* can be used against *Himself*. And hence it is, that Princes being *Legislators*, are above their Laws, and may dispence with them as they think expedient. To this purpose saies the Prince of the Schoolmen, *Princeps non obligatur suis legibus, quia nemo sibi imperat, & sibi ipsi legem imponit*; A Prince is not bound to to his own Laws, because no man doth command himself, or impose a Law on himself. *Thom. quest. 93. a. 5.* Though this seem strange to ignorant

norant men, yet it is most true, and therefore consider it well, for its grounded upon good reason: for the Law is given by a *Superior* to an *Inferior*, and no man can be *Inferior* to himself, and so can give no Law to himself; and since he can give no Law to himself, none of his Laws can oblige him.

But what? shall he be an *Exlex*, a lawless man then? I answer with the Schoolmen in two Aphorisms. 1. *Princeps non potest servare legem suam ex affectu obedientia, quia nullum agnoscit Superiorem in republica: sed tantum ex affectu illius virtutis, in cuius materia collocatur id quod lege statutum est*: The Prince cannot keep his own Law, out of the affection of Obedience, because he acknowledgeth none in the republick to be Superior to him: But only he can keep his Law, out of the affection he hath to that virtue, in the matter whereof, that which is ordained by Law, is placed. 2. Aphorism, *Princeps tenetur quoad vim directivam, non quoad coactivam, ac proinde tamen peccet contra suam legem, non tamen sit reus poena per legem imposita quia nemo potest legitime puniri nisi à Superiori*. The Prince is bound to his Lawes in so far as they have a virtue to direct him, but not as they have any coactive power. And therefore albeit he transgress his Lawes, yet he doth not become guilty of the punishment of the Law, because no man can be punished lawfully, but by his *Superior*. For this cause, that saying of *Cyrellus* is remarkable. *Nemo leges regum impunè reprobatur, nisi reges ipsi; in quibus pravariationis crimen locum non habet. Prudenter enim dictum est, impium esse, qui dixerit regi, iniquè agis*. No man can reject the Laws of Kings without punishment, but Kings themselves, in whom the crime of their transgression hath no place; for it is wisely said, that he is an ungodly man who shall say to the King, Thou dost wickedly. As this is the judgment of the Fathers and Modern Divines, so it is the common judgment of all the Schoolmen, as they say themselves.

Therefore since in Monarchical government, the Supreme Prince hath such absolute power, it were well done to change it into a *mixt* government, If we had suffered the Roman Emperour to remain an *absolute Monarch*, (as you do your Kings) we had never gotten so much of our wills, and his Holiness the Pope

Thom. loc. cit.  
Suzrez. lib. 3.  
cap. 35. Lay-  
man. lib. 1. De  
legib. cap. 9.  
decan. cap. 6.  
De lege hu-  
mana quest.  
12. Syl. cit.  
quest 14. Pas-  
que 2. cit. 6. 3.

Pope  
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Pope would have been hindred from the fruition of his lawful *Supremacy* over Emperours: and if you shall endure this your government, it will be a great impediment to the ends you aim at. For this cause, *regimen temperatum ex Monarchia, Aristocratia, & Democratia mitius est*: its a more milde government that is mixt of Monarchie, Aristocracie, and Democracie. You do well to aime at it, for it is our advice. *Bellarmino* in the same place speaketh home to you. *Præsides provinciarum vel civitatum ne sint regis vicarij, aut annui iudices, sed veri principes, qui & imperio summi principis obediant, & interim provinciam vel civitatem suam non tanquam alienam, sed ut propriam moderentur.* Let not the Presidents of Provinces, or Cities be the Kings deputies, or yearly Judges, but let them be true Princes; who may both be obedient to the command of their cheif Prince, and in the mean time govern their Province or Citie, not as it were another mans, but as their own; by this means, both a kind of Monarchie, Aristocracie, and Democracie may keep place in the Republick.

*Bellar. de Rom.  
Pont. l. x. c. 3.*

Proceed therefore to the perfecting the good work which you have begun. Consider the power you have had as absolute Lords over your Tenants, and as *Princes and Chief* over your *Clans*, every one of you being *Little Kings*, like *Dionysius Corinthus*, commanding and ruling your Vassals, as you please; but see now how it is abridged by a new form of justice, by introducing *Justices of Peace, &c.* Which (to say truth) though it tend to the settlement and peace of the Kingdom, yet it mainly opposeth your former domineering and makes your Vassals look more to the *King and his Laws, than to you and your commands.* It is certain by our well grounded principles, that there is no reason that your King of Scotland should be a more absolute Monarch than the Emperor of Rome; he is not like your King, an *absolute Prince by succession*; but a *conditional Prince by Election*; tyed by such strict conditions, which if he transgress, he may be thrust from them. For first, the Prince Electors may choose whom they please to be Emperour, by their Imperial Laws. Secondly the Prince Electors have power to judge and cognosce upon the Emperors faults. Thirdly, if they find him worthy of deposition, they may depose him. And by the Emperour

perour Ele& his own consent, it is statute and ordained, that if the Princes Electors, or the whole body of the Kingdom shall withstand, or take arms aganſt the Emperour, it ſhall be accounted lawfull without any crime of rebellion, *Ex ſanctione Henrici 7. & aurea bulla Caroli 4. & capitulatione Caſarea.* Read this capitulation in *Melchior Goladaſt. tom. 3. pag. 424.* which is thus, *Quod ſi nos ipſi (inquit Imperator) quod abſit, aut quiſquam ſucceſſorum noſtrorum, quod non ſperamus, proceſſu temporis aliquo, huic noſtra ſtatutioni, aut ordinationi contravenire voluerit, aut eam retrahere, aut alio quovis modo violare preſumerit: preſentium literarum authoritate, quas, mera noſtra autoritate, & poteſtatis regia plenitudine, ex certa noſtra Majeſtatis ſcientia, nec non cum conſenſu & bene placito preſatorum ſacri Romani Imperii principum Electorum, in robur perpetuæ firmitatis ſancivimus, ex tunc tam ipſi Electores quam ceteri Principes, Eccleſiaſtici & Sæculares, Prælati, Comites, Barones, Nobiles & Communitates ſacri noſtri Imperii, univerſi ac ſinguli præſentes & futuri, licitum habeant ſine rebellionis aut infidelitatis crimine, reſiſtendi ac contradicendi nobis, & ſucceſſoribus noſtris, Romanorum regibus, vel imperatoribus, in perpetuam libertatem.*

And I will aſſure you his Holineſs the Pope was not ſleeping when the Emperour was thus clogged: and albeit it may be thought that this change of ſimple Monarchy in this mixt government, hath been a chief ground of all the bloody war of Germany this long time by-gone, which would not have been if it had remained an abſolute Monarchy: for while it ſo continued an abſolute Monarchie in the Primitive Church, their plea was, *Rogamus Caſar, non pugnamus*: and, *aliter nec debeo, nec poſſum reſiſtere.* Yet let not this trouble Us: for herein is fulfilled the prophecie of Chriſt, while he ſaid, *He came non to ſend peace, but the ſword.* And again, this change is neceſſary, for elſe his Holineſs the Pope ſhould be ſubject to the Emperour, according to that of Paul, *Let every ſoul be ſubject to ſuperior powers*: which he neither is, nor ought to be: And therefore Bernard is herein deceiv'd himſelf, while he makes this general rule without exception, ſaying, *Qui conatur ab hac regula excipere, conatur decipere*: for both Pope with us, and people with you, muſt be

ex-

Ambroſ. orat.  
contra Auxent.

Rom. 13. 1.

Bernard Epiſt.  
42.

excepted. The Church of God hath suffer'd too much already in the Primitive times, she hath been too long in the *Category of Passion*, crying with teares, *Oramus, non pugnamus*: she ought now to be in the *predicament of action*, with *pugnamus & oramus*, holding (that I may use your own words) *a supplication in one hand, and a sword in the other*. To this purpose Mr Andrew Ramsey Minister of *Edenburgh* said pretty well, that it was Gods will that the Primitive Church should confirm the truth by *suffering*, and that now the truth being confirmed, its his will that we defend the truth by *action*, in resisting Tyrants; & what war is better then that which is for Religion? But here an *Anticovenant*er will reply perchance, and say, Where did ever any suffer under Tyrants for defending of your Presbyterial government of active or ruling-elders, and of passive or ruled-elders, which had its first beginning from *Calvin* in some sort; but as you have it, it was never in the world till the year 1638? For in *Geneva* it is only proper to the *Supream Magistrate* to chuse the *Lay elders*: for they are only Commissioners for the *Seigniorie*, neither hath the *Minister* any voice in their Election, much less the *Mutitude*: and all that *Calvin* gave them, is *praesse moribus*, and in Church matters they are called *ad consilium*, but not *ad consensum*. But now in *Scotland*, not only the whole Church takes the *Supream power* to it self, but also every parish takes upon it to be an *absolute Independent Society*, quite contrary to the practice of *Geneva*, chusing their Ministers and Elders also without number, and to those Elders *equal power* is given with the Minister, in Presbyteries and Assemblies, in giving *desisive* sentence in matters of faith, and deciding of controversies, whereof, God knowes, they are most ignorant: and in a word, they want nothing of the power of the Minister, but that they preach not, nor baptize in public congregations: & yet its common to see *Lay-men* among them in private Conventicles to take upon them the calling of a Minister, in preaching and praying. Or where did any at any time suffer for abjuring Episcopacy as an antichristian government? so this being a truth never yet confirmed by *suffering*, must not now be defended by *resisting*, according to *Ramses* own rule, but being an Article of his negative faith, it must first be confirmed

firmed by suffering. I would enquire then (saies the *Anticove-  
nanter*) of *Ramsay*, if he dare suffer for it, and be the *Protomar-  
tyr* in this cause? but he would be like the man that came to  
marriage without the wedding garment, *dumb and speechless*.  
Or if he speak, it would be negative like his faith, saying with  
*Athanasius*, *Quod non à patribus profectum est, sed nuper in-  
ventum, quid de eo aliud existimari debeat, quam illud ipsum  
cujus Paulus mentionem facit, 1. Timoth. 4. 1.*

But finding my self digressing, I will return to the point,  
which I was about, concerning government. Seeing this mixt  
government is most conducible for your ends, it were requisite  
that your Nobles would assume to themselves *Princely Autho-  
rity* (as is thought some of you have done) and make progress in  
this good work. For (let me speak it between me and you) till  
your Kings government be changed, you shall never lawfully  
resist him. For I have perused all your Divines and find them  
all condemning the lawfulness of resisting such a King as yours  
is: but at the most they hold it lawful in some cases only to resist  
*conventional or conditional Princes*. Hence is was that the Mini-

*Epist. Minist.  
Wittenb.*

sters of *Wittenberge* were most opposite to our doctrine of re-  
sisting *Princes*, in their publik sermons, but when they be-  
held upon what expresse conditions the Emperour was elected  
to the Empire to the which he was not born, then they  
said, *Docuimus quidem hactenus nullo modo resistendum esse  
Magistratui, ignoravimus vero ex legum civilium prescripto,  
id in certis quibusdam casibus, etiam legitime fieri posse.* We  
have hitherto taught that the Magistrate by no manner of  
way ought to be resisted: for we did not know that by the pre-  
script of the civil law, it might in some certain cases be lawfully  
done. So *Pareus* (as you know) was the last that wrote upon  
that subject, whose opinion when it was condemned by your  
learned Divines; his son *Philippus Pareus* purposing to de-  
fend his fathers opinion, yields his sword, and giveth over the

*Appen. ad 13.  
ad Rom*

combate even at the entrie in those words. *Loquitur enim D.  
parens meus, ut Theologi ceteri juxta cum politicis & juris-  
consultis iis, quorum sententiam ac judicium in hoc argu-  
mento sequutus est parens noster non de rege absoluta potestate  
induto, sed de principibus sub conditione admissis.* That is, my  
father



father, and the rest of the Theologues, Politicians and Jurisconsults, whose sentence and judgment in this argument my father hath followed, do not speak of a King endued with *absolute power*, but of Princes who are *conditionally* admitted. And therefore if you would make any lawful resistance for time to come, its most necessary that you labour for a change of government now, and make your selves free. We have Scripture for us, *But if thou mayest be made free, use it rather.* *Claudian* <sup>1 Cor. 7. 26.</sup> did but deceive himself, neither can endure him while he says

*Fallitur egregio quisquis sub principe credit  
Servitium: nunquam Libertas gratior extat  
Quam sub rege pio.*

Nay, I say, *Quam sub rege meo*, such a King as is *mine*: so *mine*, that I may un-make him again, whom I have made *mine*. Try this at your Parliament, see if your King will yield to this order which I have told you of the Roman Emperour, to *subject* himself to you his Subjects that the *Majesty* may reside in you. *Audentes fortuna iuvat.* Your success may be gloried of. Your King hath yielded so much unto you, that you may be confident to have this yielded also. If he had been a merciles Tyrant, he had been so far from granting you all your Petitions, that he might have imposed more burthens upon you, who did refuse obedience to that which is judged by all your prime Doctors to be lawful. Thus those two famous Doctors of yours *Gualter & Bullinger* did write in an Epistle sent to the Schismatics in England, who had opposed themselves, as you do, to the Service-book of England. *If in case* (say they) *any of the people be perswaded that those things savour of Popery, let them be taught to the contrary, and perfectly instructed therein: and if so be, through the importunate crying out hereupon before the people by some men, many be disquieted; let them beware that do so, that they bring no greater yoke upon their own necks, and provoke Queen Elizabeth her Majesty, and bring many Ministers to such danger, as they cannot rid themselves again.*

I will shew you an example hereof, which fell out in Germany at *Magdeburge*, and within the Territories of *Margrave Albertus*. The Prince required the Ministers to follow the whole book of *Augustan's* confession, where is a Liturgy

that hath all that is in yours, which you have condemned ; but some moe ceremonies, and doth retain the name of the Masse-book. Refusal thereof was made by the Nobility, Gentry, Ministers, and Citizens, even as some of all this rank among you have done. The Court hereon ran upon another deliberation, proposing Articles, which do not alter the Doctrine and Liturgy, but thrust upon them moe Ceremonies (*which yet howsoever may well enough be born*, says *Melancton*, whom you call the light of Germany) adding withal a threatening, that they, who will not follow this prescription, should depart the Land. Upon this some too forward Ministers affirmed, *It were good to affright the Court with some terrible writing, with the fear of Sedition, and with this Scar-crow to repress and hinder further alteration.* *Iliricus Flaccius* was chief man, the *Demetrius* in this uproar, crying out (as your Ministers did) *That rather desolation should be made of the Church; and, Princes are to frighted with terror of Insurrection.* But for my part (said *Melancton*) *I will be author of no such soure advice.* Whereupon the rest of the Ministers did

*Consil. Melan.*  
*part. 2. pag. 90.*  
*91. 106.*

*Beza in vita*  
*Calvin. anno*  
*1540.*

slander *Melancton* (as *Anticovenanters* say you do them) as Popishly affected, and was upon the plot to reduce Popery, and wrote to *Calvin* to this effect. But truly I am of *Beza's* opinion, that they accused him *without cause*, as afterward *Calvin* knew more truly. For (sayes *Beza*) *at the beginning it was not known with what intention that evil spirit, and whole Troup of the Flaccinians raised so many tumults, and now at this time doth hinder the work of God against Papists.* Thus *Beza*.

And it is true indeed, that the *Flaccinians*, who thus did combine against their Prince, did more advance our cause, than *Melancton* and the remanent of your Doctors; whose judgement was, that the Church should not be troubled by refusing the Service-book : and (as *Melanctons* words are) *to wrangle about a Surplest, or the like matter; where wise-men will exclaim against us, that we withstand and disobey Authority, and nourish contention with a foolish forwardness.*

Now seeing it hath pleased your King to deal thus with you, to lay no heavier burdens upon you, who have complained  
of



of a *light one* : but to grant you all that hitherto you have petitioned; see if you can obtain of him a change of the government. But I pray you, do it with great prudence and circumspection laying such grounds, as you may firmly build upon them. For, if at the first you declare your self, and say plainly; Sir, wee desire your government changed, he will refuse, and not grant it: and to proceed suddenly from one extremity to another, is difficult. Therefore first of all, by such fair wayes as you can, be instant to take from him his *negative voice* in Synods and Parliaments, which is a thing so essential to Sovereignty, that it standeth and falleth with it. For he being destitute of this Pillar, if in Parliaments by plurality of voices it be carried, that you will not *have this man to reign over you*, of necessity he must be gone. Secondly, see if you can take from him the *power of making Laws*, and let the Parliament and Synods be the *Law-makers*. You have taken this *de facto* already in your large protestation; in *Septemb. 1638.* where you say in expresse terms, *that the Parliament and Synod are the Law-makers, and the Law-interpreters.* As you have it *de facto*, see if you can get it *de jure*, established by Law; which if you obtain, you may think you have attained your end: for, if not the King, but Parliament and Synods be the *Legislators*, he must be subject to such Laws as it shall please them to make, who are the two *Supreme judicatories*, to which in your protestation you appeal, from the King and his Council: thus subjecting your King to Parliament and Synod, which is a thing which he can hardly suffer. But to please him withal, appoint him to be the *Executioner* of the Laws, and so let him have the name of a King. But it may be, that if he have no more but the execution of your Laws, that he shall rid himself of that too, if you grant him no more power; because men will say, He is *not your King, but your Officer, or H! &c.* Thirdly, if so be, that he shall be content with what portion of authority *you judge* sufficient, take heed that he fall not upon you who have thus cutted him, and execute the laws against you: and therefore to make all cock-sure, because he cannot do all by himself, but must have Officers under him: let this be granted to you also, to be *Chusers of his Officers*, and

let those be such as you know expedient for you: and so they shall be rather *your men*, than *His*. I heard that all this was motioned by you, but you have not shewn me what success it hath taken.

## II.

Covenanters  
inform. for de-  
fensive arg. 3.

Bell. de Con-  
cil. lib. 2. cap.  
19.

\* Alias, affu.

Bell. de cleric.  
lib. 3. cap. 6.

I have dwelt long upon this necessary point of the change of Government, and therefore I proceed to a second head, whereunto we fully conspire, and it is a very fit preparative to this intended change. And I cannot but applaud you for rejecting that former error, to defend that Kings are of *Divine Institution*, and do now hold with us, that they are of *humane Institution by positive Laws*. *In regnis hominum potestas regis est à populo, quia populus facit regem*. In the Kingdome of men, the power of the King is from the people, says Bellarmine: and commends Navarre, *Qui non dubitat affirmare, nunquam populum ita potestatem suam in regem transferre, quin illam sibi in habitu retineat, ut in certis quibusdam casibus etiam \* actu recipere possit*. Who doth not doubt to say, that the people did never so far transferre their power to the King, but they did retain it *habitually* themselves; so that in certain cases they may *actually* take it from him again. Let all Protestant Doctors condemn this, yet let it never repent you to have received light from us. The best works that ever *Augustine* wrote, were the books of *restitutions*; and the best works that you can do, is to forsake your errors. You say *the people makes the Magistrate, and may be without him, and have been many years without him*. The Majesty doth remain in the people, and therefore, as it is said in the Gospel, *May I not do with my own what I please?* So say we, *Potestas immediate est tanquam in sub- jecto in tota multitudine, & si causa legitime adsit, potest multitudo mutare regnum in Aristocratiam & Democrati- am*. The power is immediately, as in the subject, in the multi- tude, and if there be a lawful cause, the multitude may change the Kingdome into an Aristocracy, or Democracy. When the King becometh an enemy to the Common wealth, he ought to be removed, *Melius est ut pereat unus, quam unitas*. And therefore you may not without reason say (as in your Sions Plea) to his Majesty, *We must not lose you, and the Kingdome*

Kingdome, by preferring your fancies, and groundless affections, before sound reason. You should complain to the heart that the head is much distempered; The Lyon must be cured of the Kings evil. The Potter may destroy the vessel which he hath made himself. (But I pray you let this be spoken under the Rose; for if we too much divulge it, it will make both you and us most odious to all Princes, who will keep us at such a low lye, that we shall never be able to rise against them when we think it necessary.) When the Shepherd becometh a Wolf, let the dogs chase him away: he is for the people, and the people is not for him; when he turns to their hurt, let one who is for their good be put in his place: for you know who said, *Virtuti, non generi debetur regnum*: And it is better to have Kings by election than succession. And therefore you do most learnedly reason from the unreasonableness and absurdities of those Court Parasites (in your learned informations for Defensive armies against the King) who attribute such illimited power to their Kings, that they loose all the bonds of civil society against all the bonds of Oaths and Laws; suffering the Prince to do what he pleaseth, to the ruine of Religion, the Church and Kingdome, and the people shall do nothing but suffer themselves to be Massacred, and to fly, which is impossible. In parallel to this we say thus. The danger is so evident, and inevitable, that God hath not sufficiently provided for our salvation and the preservation of the Church and holy Laws, if there were no way to restrain such wicked Princes, &c. this were (as you say) to expose all to the fury of the Prince. And therefore we conclude in the same place with those words, The Bond and Obligation we have entered into for the service of Christ and his Church, far exceeds all other duties which we owe to any humane creature: and therefore where the obedience to the inferiour hindreth the service of the other, which is superior, we must by law and order discharge our selves of the inferiour. This our conclusion is most consonant to the words and sense of your second and fourth argument for war.

Covenanters  
informat. for  
Defensive arg.

Defence of  
English Ca-  
tho. cap. 5.

Loco citato.

Ibid.

Covenanters  
informat. for  
Defensive.

And since you were put to this necessity to take up armes for your defence, notwithstanding of our Kings specious pretences, who could condemn you to express and urge the people

Covenanters  
inform. for  
Defensive.

§. 7.  
Sigebert is an-  
no 1088.

Protest. mens  
Sept. 1638.

people, by your reasons to take up armes, to resist the violence of your King, who was *furiously invading you*, as you say? and to thrust all away from their places that did withstand you, as traitors to you, the Church and Countrey, and unworthy of your society. I do not regard, neither need you to be offended at that idle Speech of *Sigebert*; neither would I hear him, if he did not ask leave of all good men (from which number I will not be excluded) to speak, while he sayes thus, *To speak with the leave of all good men, this onely novelty, I will not say Here- sie, was not crept into the world (before the daies of Heldebrand) that Priests should teach the people that they owe no subjection to evil Kings, and that although they have sworn fidelity to him, yet they must yield him none; neither may they be counted perjured for holding against their King, but rather he that obeyeth the King is excommunicate, and he that rebelleth against the King, is absolved from the blemish of disloyalty and perjury, &c.* Thus he. And is this a matter to be condemned, I pray you? Do we not clearly see this performed among your selves? the King himself will approve of it: for you are confident of it, while you say: *We are very confident of his Majesties approbation to the integrity of our hearts, and peaceableness of our ways and actions all this time past; and do protest that we will still adhere to our former proceedings, mutual defence, &c.* And good reason, for rebellion for such an important business against a King, cannot be disloyalty; and they that have not followed your course, justly deserve *Excommunication* and *Banishment*. *Athanasius* was but too silly a man, being under the tyranny of *Constantius* the *Arrian Heretick*, that did not incite the people to rebellion, or to promote the designs of the Emperours brother, who was Orthodox, and worthier of the Crown. Which if he had done, he might have made a better Apology to the Emperour *Constantius*, who charged him with the same, as if he had stirred up his brother, and the people against him. If he had done so, he might have made *Peters* Apology, *Its better to obey God than man*. But because he did it not, he makes an Apology most befitting a coward, who did not (as you did) with Counsel and Courage lead the people to war against their Prince,

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Prince : but says thus, *Vincat quæso, apud te, veritas : & ne re-* *Albat. ...*  
*pológ. ...*  
*flant.*  
*linguas suspicionem contra universam ecclesiã, quæsi talia aut*  
*cogitentur aut scribantur à Christianis, & potissimum Epi-*  
*scopis.* Let truth I pray thee prevail with thee, and leave not a  
suspicion against the Catholick Church, as if such things were  
either thought or written by Christians, and especially by Bi-  
shops. *I am not so mad, I am not beside myself, O Emperour,*  
*that thou shouldst suspect I had any such thought ; I am not so*  
*mad, neither have I forgotten the voice of God, which saith,*  
*Curse not the King in thy heart, nor backbite the mighty in*  
*the secrets of thy Chamber : for the birds of the air shall tell*  
*it, and the fowls that fly shall betray it.*

This man was too fearful : but you were of another spirit, Covenanters  
inform. for  
Defensive.  
§. 4.  
David D.  
encouraging the people, and dehorting them from being afraid  
of shadows ; yet, your Priests were good patterns to the  
rest to follow. There was one of them, who is worthy (if you  
could permit images) to haue his Statue ingraven in Marble, to  
eternize him to the worlds end, who went so stoutly to the  
Camp upon his horse, with two Carabins at his Sadle, two  
Pistols at his side, with a broad Scottish sword ; those five  
weapons were like unto *Dauids* five smooth stones which he  
took out of the Brook to kill *Goliath* with. This *David* no  
doubt would have killed five English at the first encounter  
with his five deadly weapons, and would have returned with  
triumph, saying with *Paul*, *I have fought a good fight* : for, 2 Tim. 4. 7.  
Nehem. 6. 11.  
*should such man as he fly ?* But If any should produce the Ca-  
nons of divers general Councils, ordaining Clergy men that  
bear armes to be degraded and put from their place : And that  
of *Davenant*, *Christus gladium verbi promittit, non ferri : fu-* *Davenant de-*  
*ter. quæst. 4.*  
*gam suadet, non pugnam.* Christ promisseth to his Pastors the  
sword of the word, and not the sword of Iron: he perswades to  
fly, but not to fight : the answer is easie. Those general Coun-  
cels though not in toto, yet *pro tanto*, are like your six general  
or national Councils, which you have condemned, because  
they were against you : and *Davenant* is a Bishop, and so your  
adversary.

A third errour wherewith we were formerly tossed by III.  
you, is now removed, it concerneth the Church-govern-  
ment

ment, which you at last, being put to it, do acknowledge to belong to the Church, not to the King. What hath he to do there?

*Let Kings take care of civil state,*

*Let Church of Church-matters debate.*

*Bell. de Rom.  
Pontif. l. 1. ca.*

This was the presumption and error of Henry the 8. King of England, as *Beſſarmine* observeth. *is enim se caput ecclesia Anglicana constituit, & eodem modo censuit alios principes capita suprema in suis ditionibus esse.* For he made himself Head of the Church, and after the same manner judged other Princes to be supreme heads within their own Dominions. And thus King Charles would also be: therefore in your Protestations, you declare that it is your ancient grievance, *That his Majesty takes upon him that spiritual power and authority, which properly belongeth to Christ, as onely King and Head of his Kirk, The ministry and execution whereof is onely given to such as bear Ecclesiastical government of the same.* So that in his Majesties person some men press to erect a Popedom. And all your Protestant Divines do hold the same doctrine, as so many Court Parasites. The Fathers went too far on this way, I will but name *Augustine*: *All men* (saies he) *ought to serve God, by common condition, as men in another sort by several gifts and offices, by the which, some do this, some do that.* No private person could command idols to be banished clean from amongst men, which was so long before prophesied. Therefore Kings (beside their duty to serve God common with all men) have, in that they be Kings how to serve the Lord in such sort, as none can do, which are not Kings; for in this Kings, as they are Kings, serve the Lord (as God by David enjoyed them. *Psal. 2.*) if in their Kingdomes they command that which is good, and prohibite that which is evil; not in civil affairs only, but also in matters concerning Divine Religion, &c. This man is so confident that in his 50. Epistle he cryeth out, *Who being in their right wits dare alledge the contrary?* Truly the *Donatists* held the better part, they durst alledge the contrary; so dare We, so dare you do: *maxi viri virtute* *movet.* The fathers judgement in such state-matters is not approved by his Holiness the Pope. *Beſſarmine* our trusty Cham-

*August. contra  
litteras Petilie  
lib. 2. cap. 92.*

*Idem contra  
Cresci. lib. 8.  
cap. 51*

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Champion speaketh better for you : That the civil Magistrate *regit homines, ut homines sunt, & magis ratione corporum quam animarum*: but on the contrary, the Church Governour *regit homines, ut Christiani sunt, & magis ratione animarum quam corporum*: *ille habet pro fine temporalem quietem, & salutem populi; iste vitam & sempiternam felicitatem: ille nititur naturalibus legibus, & institutis humanis; iste legibus divinis*. The King governeth men as they are men, and rather in regard of their bodies than their souls: but the Church Governour governeth men as they are Christians, and rather in regard of their souls than their bodies. The end of the one is to procure the temporal quiet and safety of the people; the other hath for his end, everlasting life and happiness: the one useth natural Laws and humane institutions; but the other useth Divine Laws.

And whereas your Doctors say, that the King is the Keeper of the Tables, and the Minister of God for our good, and if for our good, then chiefly for our *principal good*, the good of our souls; to have a care of Religion according to the examples of the religious Kings under the Law, and Christian Princes under the Gospel, &c. Those, and many such like idle arguments are not worthy that I should stand to answer them, especially in an Epistle; for there is no such need of Kings, *the people may well enough be without them, for there was none till Cains days*, as you say: The Church was well governed in the Primitive time while there was no Christian King. *Ad annos ferme 300. nullus fuit in Ecclesia Christianus Princeps secularis*. For the space of 300. years there was no secular Christian Prince in the Church, says *Bellarmino*. And therefore, says he, *Christus Ecclesiam regendam Petro & Episcopis commissit, non Tyberio & ejus Praefectis*: He committed the government of his Church, to *Peter* and the Bishops, not to *Tyberius* the Emperor and his Officers. He said to *Peter*, *Feed my sheep*; not so to Kings, but, *Do my Prophets no wrong*. The Church-men must give an account to God of mens souls, Kings have no such account to make, as our *Stapleton* says well with you: and therefore concludes, that not Kings, but the Church is to be obeyed in Ecclesiastical businesses; according to that of the Apostle, *Obe-*

Covenanters  
informar. for  
Defensive. arg.  
3.

Beil. de laicit.  
cap. 17.

Heb. 13. 17.

Covenanters  
inform. for  
Defensive.

Cell. de Pont.  
Rom. lib. 5.  
cap. 6.

VIII. Instruct.

Socrat. in pro-  
emio. lib. 5.

*disc prepositis vestris. Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit your selves unto them, for they watch for your soul. You do then as it becometh you, not to regard the Kings words, nor obey his Proclamations: but to perswade the people (that I may use your own words) to submit themselves obediently to follow their Leaders, whom God at this time hath largely furnished with counsel and courage for the good of his Church and Kingdome: The reason why they should follow them, and not be carried away with the Kings Proclamations: quia potestas civilis subiecta est potestati spirituali quando utraq; pars est ejusdem reipub, Christiane.*

A fourth error which you with good success have abolished, that you deny the power of convocating and dismissing of Assemblies to belong to the *Supreme Magistrate*. In the Protestation in July 1638. you maintain your power of convocating Assemblies: therefore in the 27. August, 1638. it was well put in among your instructions before the Assemblies, *that the ablest man in each Parish should be provided to dispute De potestate supremi Magistratus in Ecclesiasticis, praesertim in convocandis Conciliis.* Its your wisdom to assemble when he commands you, so long as it is conducible for your ends; but yet you have power to assemble in a *National Assembly*, in what place of the Kingdome you please. *Socrates* did smell too much of a *Court Parasite*, while he said, we make mention of Emperors throughout this History, for that since they became Christians, Ecclesiastical matters depend on them, & the greatest Synods have been, and yet are called by their appointment. He offended you who said, that as *Moses* is *custos utriusq; Tabulae*, so is he *custos utriusq; tubae*: as the civil Magistrate is keeper of both the *Tables*; so he is keeper of both the *silver Trumpets*, for war, for calling of Assemblies, and dismissing of them; and that you would but blow the Trumpet of *Sedition*, if (without the Kings authority) you should convocate Assemblies either for *peace*, or for *war*.

The *Marquess of Hamilton* was too presumptuous, being called with the Kings Authority, to discharge your last Assembly, which (as you said well) was to raise *Christ's Court*: and therefore, it was not ill advised by one of you, *that seeing the*

*Marquess*



*Marquess was faithful to his Master the King, so you ought to be faithful to your Master the King of Kings Jesus Christ, and to defend his Royal prerogative above all the Kings of the earth.* In your answer to the *Marquess of Hamiltons* Declaration, you affirm that *your Ecclesiastical jurisdiction is independent*, and in your *Zions Plea* you say, that your Presbyterian discipline *is the Scepter of Christ, swaying his own house according to his hearts desire, the soul the chief commander in the camp Royal*; and your *Travers* says, *Hanc disciplina omnes orbis Principes & Monarchas fasces suos submittere, & parere necesse est*: There is a necessity that all the Princes and Monarchs should submit their Scepters, and obey this discipline. And your *Mac Lellan* (whom some call a fool) spake not foolishly, while he preached, *that the Kings had no more to do to meddle with your Assemblies; than you have to meddle with his Parliaments.* It was wisely then done by you, in rejecting any protestation or appellation from your Assembly by the *Bishops*, and their adherents, to the Kings Majesty; for such appellations ought not to be, seeing there is no Supreme above your National assemblies. And therefore, as you have not hitherto regarded their protestation and appellation, but have proceeded against them to deposition, and excommunication: so continue, and be no dismayed though they should renew their protestations and appellations, even in the words of *Athanasius*, in protesting against, and appealing from, the partial Council of *Tyrus*, which appellation and protestation of *Athanasius*, and the rest of the orthodox Bishops was in these words: *Because we see many things spitefully contrived against us, and much wrong offered the Catholick Church under our names, we be forced to request that the debating of our matters may be kept for the Princes most excellent person. We cannot bear the drifts and injuries of our enemies; and therefore, require the cause to be referred to the most religious and devout Emperour, before whom we shall be suffered to stand in our own defence, and plead the right of the Church, &c.* If those your Bishops flying to the King, as *Athanasius* and the rest of the orthodox Bishops did to the Emperour, shall procure an edict or command from the King, (as those did from the Emperour) to

*De discip. Eccles. pag. 142.*

*Athanas. ap. log. cap. 2.*

Charge you all to appear before him to plead your cause; you ought not to appear as that miserable Synod of Tyrus did: The Ediſt was ſo peremptory, that they durſt not reſiſt. The Ediſt was in theſe words: *Your Synod hath decreed I know not what in a tumult and uproar, while you ſeek to pervert truth by your peſtilent diſorder for hatred againſt your fellow Biſhops. But the divine providence will ( I doubt not ) ſcatter the miſchief of your contention, and make it plain in your ſight, whether your Aſſembly had any regard of truth, or not. You muſt therefore all of you reſort hither, to ſhew the reaſon of your doings, for ſo doth it ſeem good and expedient to me, to which end, I wiſſed this preſcript to be ſent to you, that as many of you as were preſent at the Council of Tyrus, without delay repair to the place of our abode, there to give an account how ſincerely and ſoundly you have judged, and that before me, whom your ſelves ſhall not deny to be the ſincere Miniſter of God in ſuch caſes, &c.*

I ſay then, if you ſhall receive ſuch a charge from your King, you ſhould not obey: (for in your ſenſe that is, *To betray the Royal prerogative of your King Jeſus Chriſt*) but return the answer of Core, Dathan and Abiram with ingemination, *We will not come, we will not come:* or your Lords, Lay-Elders may return that of Jeremy, *We are Lords, We will no more come unto thee.* And if your King will not be content with your answer, proſecute your begun courſe with all diligence and earneſtneſs; having begun in the ſpirit, end not in the fleſh, but go on with that which they call diſorders, till you get the King in your power, and then he ſhall know what ſubjects you will be. If the people of one City falling to ſedition for matters of Religion, ſo prevailed & paſſed all power of reſiſting, that Anaſtaſius the Emperour was fain to come to an open place without his Crown, and by Heralds to ſignify to the people, that he was ready with a very good will to reſign the Empire into their hands: how much more may you who have many cities, by continuing your courſes, force your King to reſign his Crown of Scotland? And howbeit the people of that City ſeeing the Emperour in ſo pitiful a caſe, were moved with the ſpectacle & changed their minds, & beſought the Emperour to keep his Crown, and promiſed for their parts to be quiet: yet do not you ſo, till your King ſhall perform all your demands, From

Num. 16. 12.

14.

Jer. 2. 31.

Evag. lib. 5.  
cap. 44.

From that which hath been done by you, and repeated by me, I see other two errors banished, which I conjoyn for brevities sake, left my Epistle should encrease to a Treatise, viz. That the King is no more to be *President*, nor *supreme Governor* in causes Ecclesiastical. It is the folly of your Divines, to make the Moderator of your Assemblies to be unto the King or his *Delegate* in Assemblies, as the *Chancelor* in the Parliament is to the King, or his *Deputy* in Parliaments. But I extol your courage, who now conclude with us, *Ad Regium officium pertinet, ut legibus & edictis suis eam fidem teneri jubeant, quam sacerdotes tenendam docent, &c.* Its the duty of Kings, by their Laws and Edicts to cause that faith to be kept, which the Priests teach should be kept. For the spirit of the Prophets is subject to the Prophets. But is *Saul* also among the Prophets? Is it true that the *Anticovenanter* sayes, that in your Ecclesiastical judicatories, called 1 Sessions, 2 Presbyteries; and 3 Synods, there will be in the first, sometimes twelve, sometimes sixteen, in some places 24 *Lay-Elders* for one *Priest*? Secondly, in your Presbyteries, *Lay-elders* of equal power and number? Thirdly, in your Synods as many *Lay elders* with their Assessors as there is Priests; all which *Lay-elders* have as great power in matters of Doctrine and Discipline as the Priests themselves, to judge, and pass *Definitive sentence*? &c. But I trust it is not so, for I hear that they are offended to be called *Lay elders*, and will be called *Ruling-elders*, and Ecclesiastical persons, and so I doubt not but they have received orders from you. And therefore seeing Ecclesiastical persons among you, have the managing of Church-affaires, the civil Magistrate must be content to execute what you decree; neither ought he to judge otherwise than you judge; neither can he hinder you to make Laws in the Church. For, as *Stapleton* sayes very learnedly with you, *Oves non possunt judicare pastores*. Let the shepherds judge of the sheep, who must follow them; as Christs sheep heard his voice and followed him. Therefore you have most valiantly shaken off that yoke of the Kings *supremacy* in causes Ecclesiastical, and at the Cross of *Glasgow* proclaimed to the world (against the Kings Proclamation for raising the Assembly) that your Assemblies are the supreme judicatory §. 5.

§. 6.

Bellarmine.

Novemb. 29.

1638.

Protest. in

Julii 1638.

Protest. in Jun  
lii 1638. p. 5.  
You appeal  
from the King  
and the Coun-  
cel to the ge-  
neral Assem-  
bly and Par-  
liament.  
Bell. de cleri-  
cis, cap. 28.

*judicatory in all causes Ecclesiastical*; and since supreme, its independent from the King, and your reason is good: for that which is superiour cannot be subject to that which is inferiour. Now (as *Bellarmino* also sayes) *Regimen Ecclesiasticum sublimius est Politico*. The Ecclesiastick government is higher than the Politick: for *Principatus politicus institutus est ab hominibus, & de jure gentium: at principatus ecclesiasticus est à solo Deo, & de jure divino*. The Politick Government is instituted by men, and of the Law of Nations: but the Church Government is from God alone, and of Divine institution. "Therefore you conclude right, that the King hath no more  
"power to appoint officers in the Church, than you have power  
"to appoint officers of state for his Court.

In *Zions Plea*, pag. 289. You answer well to the Protestants objection, thus: If any object the Magistrates interposed authority, it's quickly answered, *That his power is not to weaken any ordinance of God, but for guarding and making good all Gods ordinances with the Sword*. And in your protestation at *Edenburgh*, 18. December. 1638. you bring from your Book of Discipline, a full and perfect description of the Kings authority in Church matters, which is this, *To assist and maintain the discipline of the Kirk, and punish them civilly who will not obey the censures thereof*. And in your answer to the *Marquess of Hamilton* his Declaration, you say, *That the Supream Magistrate, as a Son of the Kirk, ought to receive the true meaning of the Kirk and cause it to be received by those whom God hath subjected unto him*. Yea, it is so far from being a prerogative due to the Supreme Magistrate to be Supreme governour in causes Ecclesiastical, that it is a favour granted unto him to have any precedency in Synods without voycing, (except he would become a ruling Elder, and have a commission to come.) Therefore, it is most remarkable which you say in your Protestation 29. *Novem.* 1638 at *Glasgow*. "After 39. *National Assemblies* of this  
"National Church, where neither the Kings Majesty, nor  
"any in his name were present: At the humble and earnest de-  
"fire of the Assembly, His Majesty graciously vouchsafed His  
"presence either in His own Royal person, or by a Commis-  
sioner,

“ sioner, not for voicing or multiplying of voices; but as Prin-  
 “ ces and Emperours of old, in a Princely manner to counte-  
 “ nance that meeting, and to preside in it for external order,  
 &c. And this is all that we grant to Emperours and Princes  
 in our Disputes against Protestants. And I pray you, what Roy-  
 alist can answer the Arguments which you have borrowed from  
 us? all their answer is, that they exclaim that you do borrow  
 your Arguments from your enemies, yet not so great enemies,  
 as they suppose; for the Jesuite is called the Popish Puritan: and  
 the Puritan is called the Protestant Jesuite, and I trust that the  
 like may be said of us, which is said of Christ and *Franciscus* :

*Exue Franciscum tunica, laceroq; cucullo*

*Turfselin.*

*Qui Franciscus erat, jam tibi Christus erit,*

*Francisci ex viuis, si qua licet, induo Christum,*

*Jam Franciscus erit, qui tibi Christus erat.*

And we are both by Papists and Protestants (though un-  
 justly) branded with these vile Epithets, to be called *Holy*  
*Divels*, the Standard-bearers of perfidiousness, the Archetypes  
 of Rebellion, the Bellows of Sedition, the Emissaries of the Di-  
 vel, the Kings evil, and the Intendiaries of the whole world &c.  
 and our *Thuan* is so far out of Love with us, that he says  
 our Society is,

*Ludav. de  
Cruzam.*

*Nata Magistratum convellere, nata ministris*

*Subtrahere obsequium, Praesulibusq; suum.*

But albeit there were some ods between us, what is that to  
 them, since they be good for you? who found fault with  
 him who said, *Mutemus clypeos, Danaumq; insignia nobis*

*Aptemus. Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat?*

Who can blame you while you say, that if Princes shall  
 have such power in Assemblies, and in matters of Religion,  
 then all Religion and Church-government should depend abso-  
 lutely upon the pleasure of the Prince; and he may change it

*Protestat.  
18. Novemb.  
1638.*

as he will? So says learned Stapleton in his dispute against  
 the Protestant Doctrine: *Posita hac potestate, nec in una pro-  
 vincia vel regno diu erit fidei unitas vel cultus, & religionis  
 conformitas, quia singuli principes quod ipsis melius videbitur,  
 statuent, quorum decretis si resisteretur, perpetua erant bella.* This  
 power being granted to Kings, then Unity of faith and wor-  
 ship

ship, and conformity of religion will not remain long in one Province or Kingdom, because every Prince will ordain that which seemeth best in his eyes. To whose decrees if resistance be made, there will follow perpetual war. But this power being granted to the Church, which cannot err in her Synodical acts, there shall ever be Unity of faith depending upon the *infallibility* of Church Assemblies.

## VII.

Novemb. 21.  
1638.

Covenanters  
informat. for  
Defensive §. 7.

Bell. de autor.  
concilior. cap. 4.

For I see in the seventh place, that you do acknowledge the *infallibility* of general Councils or Assemblies. For that Assembly which you did hold at *Glasgow* lately, is to you *infallible*, that long time before, you do profess that you did swear for judgement and practice to adhere to the determination of it: And now of late, *Julii 1. 1639.* do protest before God and the world, that you will still adhere to it. And you have good reason so to do: for if general Assemblies may err, then, say we, *Possent merito revocari in dubium omnes damnata hereses, & concilia nullo honore digna essent.* All heresies which are condemned, may again be called in question, and our Assemblies esteemed worthy of no honour. And therefore you may justly fear, upon this ground, that your Assembly might err, and that you may be branded with error in your decrees and have all called in question again which you have condemned. As for us at Rome, condemn your Assemblies who will, we shall never do it: but rather desire that you may still appoint the *same Commissioners* of your future assemblies, therein to confirm all which they had decreed in the former: for your acts of abjuring *Episcopacy*, the *Articles of Perth*, *Service-book*, *Book of Canons*, please us very well: howbeit we do not thoroughly approve the reason of your acts. You have thrust away and excommunicated your Bishops, because you think them *Antichristian*: so do we excommunicate your Bishops, because they are *Antichristian*. But you think them *Antichristian*, because you make it an Article of your *Negative faith*, that they are a part of the *Popish Hierarchy*: And we think them *Antichristian*, because they are not so, neither do they acknowledge the Pope for their Head, but do declaim against him, and the greatest wound that ever we have received, is from such Bishops as they are, as *Cranmer, Latimer,*



mer, Ridley, Hooper, Jewel, Bilson, Andrews *πυλῶδες*,  
 stupor mundi; Whitgift, Babington, Abbots, King, Downname,  
 Usher, Morton, Davenant, Montague, Hall, White, and that  
 Arch-enemy of yours and ours, *Canterbury*, with divers o-  
 thers, whom I like not to recite.

In this particular King *James* is opposite to us both, because  
 (as *Becanus* well observeth) he holdeth, that Bishops have  
 their jurisdiction immediately from God, while he saith, *Episcopus esse in Ecclesia debere, tanquam institutionem Apostoli-*  
*cam, ac ordinationem proinde divinam contra Puritanos,* *contraq; Bellarminum semper sensi, qui negant Episcopos a*  
*Deo immediatè suam jurisdictionem accepisse. Sed nihil mi-*  
*rum à Puritanis eum stare, cum Jesuits nihil aliud quàm Pu-*  
*ritano-Papista sunt.* I ever thought that Bishops ought to be  
 in the Church as an Apostolical Institution, and therefore a  
 divine ordinance against *Puritans*, and against *Bellarmino*;  
 who deny, that Bishops have their jurisdiction immediately  
 from God; but no marvel that *Bellarmino* takes the *Puritans*  
 part, seeing *Jesuits* are no other thing but *Puritan-Papists*.  
 And in that same place the King sheweth, that from a general  
 Council convoked by Christian Princes, for the settling of  
 Religion, he would have *Jesuits* and *Puritans* excluded, whom  
 he calleth by a common title, *novitios, & furiosos incendiarios*;  
 and says, *Mihi praprium labor fuit dejectos Episcopos restituere,*  
*& Puritanorum anarchiam expugnare.* My chief labour was  
 to restore the Bishops that were cast down, and to overthrow  
 the Anarchy of *Puritans*. *Idem.*

We thank you also for removing the Articles of *Pertb*,  
 for they were not rightly established: for your Church did  
 esteem those ceremonies to be only *things indifferent*, com-  
 mended and commanded by Authority for *Decency* and  
*Order*. The not observation whereof was held no *damnable*  
*sin*, if it were without *contempt* of Authority, and without  
 the *case of scandal*; and at the most, your Church did hold  
 that those ceremonies were only *significant*, and not *opera-*  
*tive*, as we hold. But if they had been rightly established, you  
 should have observed them as things *necessary to salvation*,  
 and as parts of *Gods worship*, which under pain of *damna-*

tion ought to be performed, and that they are *signs operative*, working *grace* in those who observe them. And therefore seeing your Church did not hold this opinion of them, they are not *Papish Ceremonies*, and so not *ours*; and whatsoever you have more that is not *ours*, we request you to abjure it.

The condemning also of the *Service-book* is most acceptable unto us, because it is not our *Mass-book*: and that you may see how much we hate it, Be it known to you, that by vertue of the Popes Bull many years ago, we will suffer no Roman Catholik to go to the Church, so long as the *Service-book* is reading either in *England* or *Ireland*, and yet we will permit them to go to their Sermons, and of all Sermons we sympathize best with yours: So that it seemeth a most unfortunate book, having both us and you for its enemies.

And since I am fallen upon this point, let me relate an History that passed between a *Covenanter* and an *Anticovenanter*, as it was reported to me, concerning this Book, that you may make your use of it. "The *Covenanter* demanded the cause, 'why he could refuse to joyn with them in a Supplication to 'his Majesty against the book of *Common-Prayer*, seeing there 'were so many hands of able Ministers subscribing the same, 'and obliging themselves to make it good, that it was 1. *Superstitious*, 2. *that it containeth the main essential parts of 'the Mass*, 3. *that it openeth a door to let in all Popery*. The *Anticovenanter* answered thus, or to this effect: Because such 'unjust aspersions are cast upon that poor Book, which doth 'not contain so many *Lines*, as it doth suffer *Lyes*, hated by 'all that love not truth; *Papists* and *Puritans* striving who 'shall speak most against it, I shall be so far from becoming 'a causeless enemy to it, that I cannot deny it my friendship, 'and helping hand. But because you are so furious, and I, 'for speaking but one word in its favour, have been hotly persecuted with tongue, and hands too; it will be better to be 'possessed with a *Lethargy*, than to appear in defence of 'this *Liturgie*, which the most part, even of the Ministry, hath condemned with blind obedience, before they 'did see, or read it. It might be sufficient for me to deny what 'you peremptorily affirm against it, and its your part to  
 'pr ove

‘prove the *Affirmative* : and your best *Probation* is your  
 ‘naked *assertion*, seconded with *railing* against all that will not  
 ‘believe you. But I pray you hear the Book speak for it self,  
 ‘and it shall purge it self of such calumnies, in the judgment  
 ‘of all indifferent men, and it will tell you, that you are like  
 ‘*David’s enemies*, casting iniquity upon it where you find  
 none, and laying to its charge the thing it never knew, and so  
 do hate it without a cause.

First then, here it purgeth it self of all Superstition at the  
 ‘first entry of the Book, where it sheweth the *reasons why*  
 ‘*some ceremonies are abolished, and some retained*, in plain  
 ‘words, saying : *The multitude of ceremonies are rejected, be-*  
 ‘*cause of their multitude and superstition*. And in the cele-  
 ‘bration of the Holy Communion it recommends the use  
 ‘of common bread. But wherefore ? *for the avoiding of Su-*  
 ‘*perstition*, says the Book ; so that at the very entry, the  
 ‘book is most careful to satisfy all scrupulous people, thus  
 ‘telling them that it hates superstition as well as they. Again,  
 ‘if there were any thing superstitious in this book, it must  
 ‘be enjoyed as a thing *necessary in it self*, as *unchangeable* ;  
 ‘the not observing of it would be *damnable*, as the breach of  
 ‘*God’s law*. To all this the Book answers in the same place,  
 ‘that it *enjoyneth nothing in that manner, but what the Word*  
 ‘*of God commands*. And as for the ceremonies contained  
 ‘in it, it is so far from esteeming them *things necessary*,  
 ‘that it placeth them in the rank of *indifferent things*. The  
 ‘*keeping or omitting whereof is but a small thing*, says the  
 ‘Book : It says further, that *those ceremonies are taken away*  
 ‘*which were most abused, and did burthen mens consciences*  
 ‘*without cause, and that those which remain are retained for*  
 ‘*discipline, and order*. It tells that they are also *changeable*;  
 ‘and not to be compared to *Gods Law*, whilst it says of  
 ‘them thus. *Upon just causes they may be altered, and changed*  
 ‘*and therefore are not to be esteemed equal with Gods Law*.  
 ‘What can any man say more against Superstition than is said  
 ‘by the book it self ? Therefore its very likely, that they have  
 ‘not read the book, (as I am sure the most part have never  
 ‘done ) or at least, have read it with an *evil eye*, who con-

'denn it of *Superstition*, whereof it is most free.

'As for the second, that it doth contain the *essential parts of the Mass*, read and see the contrary in the book it self, which doth keep Christ's *institution it self*, and *Paul's re-petition of it*, in such sort, that I think no Church can celebrate the Sacrament with more *purity, sincerity, gravity*, and none with more *Majesty* than by this Book. But let me speak a little for it. I pray you, why are you so sparing? You may say as well, that it contains the *whole Mass*, as the *main essential parts of the Mass*; for (if you have any Logick, or natural reason) you may so conclude: for where that is, which is essential to a thing, there the thing it self must be: But in this Book (say you) *are the essential parts of the Mass*, what doth hinder then, but that it hath the Mass it self in it? For, if it have the main essential parts of the Mass, what doth it lack, or want? not the *proper accidents*, for these do flow from the *essential parts*, and are *inseparable* from it. It can want nothing then of the Mass, unless it be *some common accidents*, which may be either *present or absent*, without any hurt of the *subject*. What boldness is this then to speak such a main essential lye? Let me either see that the book maintaineth, that *sub speciebus panis & vini*, the body and bloud of Jesus Christ is *bodily offered up* by the Priest, to God the Father, a *propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead*; or else, lay your hand on your mouth, and speak no more.

II. 'Finally, since it hath neither *Superstition*, nor the *essentials of the Mass*, how can it open a door to *Popery*? Certainly it is purged from all such stuffe, and restored to the ancient integrity, the least thing that might tend to *superstition* being thrust out of door, as *Ammon* did *Tamar*, without hope of return: and if any superstition would dare to enter, as the *Sod-mites* at *Lor's* door, the door is so fast shut (by that which I have told you from the mouth of the Book it self, in the beginning of the right use and abuse of Ceremonies) that they must despair of any entry.

III.

'What needs all such uproar then without cause? such fearful Schisms, such Dictatorial censures, and uncharitable verdicts, that they are all Papists, or Popishly affected, that

‘that run not with you to mischief? Shew me but one *masculine reason* (and lay aside wives tales) and I shall take it in place of many, & *erunt ultimi primi*: I shall redeem my time with redoubling my course, and shall be so far from approving the least point, which you shall shew to be Popery, that for that one points sake it shall get no more pity, than

‘*Samuel gave to Agag: I shall rent it in pieces.*

‘Read over that which you have condemned with judgment, and not with prejudice, and I shall oblige my self to make good those particulars: First, that you shall never be able to find any thing in it *contrary to the word of God*. 2. That it containeth nothing contrary to the practice of the Primitive Church, but which is most agreeable thereto. 3. That all the points which you condemn, are not controverted between our *classical Divines* and *Papists*, but agreed upon on both sides, as things not controverted. 4. That there is nothing in it contrary to our Confession of Faith in *Scotland*. Yea, which is much, you shall not shew me one Protestant Divine of any note or *eminency*, even among the *Reformers of Religion*, who ever did condemn this Book of the least point of Popery; but on the contrary did commend it, and defend it against all petty-preachers, who refused it as you do. Learned *Bucer* thus affirmeth: *In the Ceremonies of the English Liturgy, I have found nothing which is not taken out of the Word of God, or at least, which is repugnant to it, so it be favourably understood.* Calvin himself perusing the *Liturgy*, declared that he found no fault in it at all; and wrote to the *English Exiles at Frankford, who had made a rent and schism in the Church, to be moderate, and return to the Church.* Vos *ultra modum rigidos esse nolim*: I would not have you stiff above measure; and bids them return to Conformity, and proponeth his own opinion: *In Anglorum controversia moderationem semper tenni, cuius me non parietet*; in the controversy of *England* I have ever kept a moderation, whereof I do not repent: and was very much offended with those who would not yield in such indifferent things, for peace sake. It was Calvin with *Peter Martyr*, who by many arguments persuaded Bishop *Hooper* to Conformity, especially

*Bucer script. Anglic. in con. p. 456.*

*Calvin. Epist. 200. fol. 336.*

cially to put on the *Surpless*, which he did. It might produce all the rest of those worthy Divines, *Beza, Melancton, Bullinger, Peter Martyr, Gualter, Zanchius*, who all of them condemn your opinion and schismatical practice, who had rather rent the body of *Christ Jesus*, than yield to any thing that doth not content your turbulent lusts: and therefore your prayers are turned into sin, while you pray the Lord of heaven truly and fully to inform his Majesty how far this Book is full of idolatrous superstitions, and popish errors, as you affirm in your Protestation against his Majesties Proclamation. And it is no marvel that you condemn this *Book of Common Prayer*, seeing you have condemned your own *Book of Common Prayer* made at your Reformation. The Ring-leaders of your faction condemn all *set-Prayers* whatsoever, all *set forms* of celebration of the *Sacraments*, and *Marriages*. The *Prayers* which were read since the Reformation till this rupture, are now banished the Church, yea your Ring-leaders have banished the *Lords Prayer*, and say that those who use it make it an *Idoll*, and therefore in their *Prayers* it is never mentioned, to the great scandal and grief of many poor souls among you, who yet love it, because *Christ's* command is, when you pray, say, *Our Father which art in heaven, &c.* You *Baptize*, celebrate the *Communion*, not as you were wont to do, after the form set down unto you at the Reformation; but every day after a divers forme and manner, being changeable like the wind; so do you with *Marriage*. Thus you differ from your self like the double-minded man, who is unstable in all his ways, wavering like the waves of the Sea, driven with the wind, and tossed: and what pleaseth you to day, displeaseth you to morrow. You do also daily coin new Articles of faith, as to believe *Episcopacy* to be *Antichristian*, and the young *Lay-elder* government to be that which *Christ* hath appointed in his Church. It is an Article of your faith to believe, that to receive the body and blood of *Jesus Christ* in the humble gesture of kneeling is idolatry. It is an Article of your faith, that it is *Popery*, if the Church set apart a day for the solemn and thankful commemoration of *God's* love to the world, who so loved the world, that when the fullness of time was

Jam. 1. 8.

Galar. 4. 4.

come,



'some, sent forth his Son made of a woman, made under the  
 'Law, to redeem them which were under the Law, that we  
 'might receive the adoption of Sons. It is an Article of your  
 'faith, that it is Popery, if the Church do set apart a day for  
 'the solemn and publik commemoration of the Passion of  
 'Christ, that the people may look unto Jesus the Author and  
 'Finisher of their faith, who for the joy that was set before him  
 'endured the Cross, despising the shame. Its an Article of your  
 'faith, that it is Popery to give the Communion on Paschday.  
 'Its an Article of your faith, that it is Popery, if the Church  
 'appoint a day for the thankful remembrance of Christs A-  
 'scension into Heaven. Its an Article of your faith, that its Po-  
 'pery, if the Church appoint a day for the thankful remem-  
 'brance of the Descension of the Holy Ghost on Whitsunday, to  
 'give gifts unto men. Its an Article of your faith, that the  
 'Service-book is Popish. Its an Article of your faith, that the  
 'Book of Canons (which directly overthrows the Popish Su-  
 'premacie) and the High Commission, are abjured in your  
 'Confession of Faith. Its an Article of your faith, that it was  
 'the intention of those whom you call blessed Reformers, that  
 'all the foresaids, which you have in your Covenant abjured  
 'expressly, was abjured by them also as well as if it had been ex-  
 'pressly set down, which is the most ridiculous thing in the  
 'world; for intentio est actio immanens, which is impossible  
 'for any man to know except it be revealed. And therefore  
 'since there is such difference among your selves, every day  
 'bringeth forth new dreams, since to you some things are  
 'sometimes indifferent, sometimes necessary good, sometimes  
 'necessary evil, sometimes a matter of faith, sometimes not. I  
 'cannot but end this discours with that of Hilarius, in ap-  
 'plication to you. Faith is now come to depend rather on the time  
 'than on the Gospel: our state is dangerous, and miserable, that  
 'we have now as many Faiths as Wills, as many Doctrines as  
 'Manners. Whilst Faiths are either so written as we list, or so  
 'understood as we will, we make every year and every moneth a  
 'faith, and still we seek a faith as if there were no faith. This I  
 'would fain know of you, what faith at length you believe? you  
 'have changed so often, that now I know not your Faith. That

Hcb. 12. 2.

Hilar. lib. 3.  
cont. Constant.

is

'it happened unto you which is worse to follow unskilful Builders, ever disliking their own doings, that you still put down that which you are still putting up. You subvert the old with the new, and the new you rent asunder with a new correction; and that which was once corrected, you condemn with a second correction. O wicked men, what a mockery do you make of the Church! Only dogs return to their vomit, and you compell the Priests to sup up those things which they have spit forth; and do you commend them in their confession to allow that which before they condemned? What Bishops hand have you left innocent? What tongue have you not forced to falsehood? Whose heart hast thou not brought to the condemning of his former opinion? You have subjected all to your will, and to your violence. Thus Hilarium.

Jerom. in Ps.  
107.

Cypri. lib. 1. c. 8.

Aug. lib. 4. de  
Bapt. cap. 24.

'And therefore of those your new coyned articles (especially of your abjuring *Episcopacy*, and establishing the *Presbyterial discipline*) I may well say that of *Jerom*, *Plantatio vestra non est vetus, sed novella est; non est de veteri lege, non de Prophetis, non de Apostolis, sed de novis magistris est*. Your plantation is not old, but a novelty, (for it is not three years old) it is not taken out of the old Law, nor from the Prophets, nor from the Apostles, but new masters. And therefore, *adulterum est, impium est, sacrilegum est, quicquid humano furore instituitur, ut dispositio divina violetur*. Whatsoever is established by the fury of man, whereby the divine disposition is violated, is an adulterated, wicked, and sacrilegious matter. And I hold that as an undoubted rule of *Augustine*, *Quod universalis tenuit Ecclesia, quodq; non Conciliis institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi Apostolicâ autoritate traditum rectissime creditur*. Whatsoever the *Catholick Church* hath holden, and which was not instituted by *Councils*, but ever kept in the Church, that is most rightly believed to be an *Apostolical tradition*: and he brings for instances those *holy days*, which your Covenant *abjures*, which have ever been retained in the Church from the Apostles days. And albeit we could not prove *Episcopacy* from Scripture (as we may very well prove it, and is proved by those who defend the same) yet this unquestionable rule of *Augustine* will be sufficient to  
'prove

' prove it to be of *Apostolical Institution*, for you say, it is not of  
 ' *Divine institution*, and I say, it is not instituted by *Councils* :  
 ' and yet all that are but little exercised in *antiquity*, shall find  
 ' that *Episcopacie* was ever in the Church from the Apostles  
 ' days till this present time that it is called in question. And  
 ' beside that rule of *Augustine*, consider that it is the *general*  
 ' *tradition* of the *Catholick Church*, that *Episcopacie* hath ever  
 ' been in it as an *Apostolical institution*. And by this *general*  
 ' *tradition* of the *Catholick Church*, we are as certain that it is  
 ' of *Apostolical institution*, as we are certain of the *received*  
 ' *number* of the *Canonical Books* of Scripture : for we receive  
 ' & take that number upon the *continued general tradition* of the  
 ' *catholick church* of Christ from age to age. We reject and  
 ' detest *particular traditions* of any *present particular Church* ;  
 ' such as are those of the Church of *Rome*, if they cannot shew  
 ' those *traditions* to have been *generally received at all times* in  
 ' the *Catholick Church*. But there is no Protestant that doth  
 ' not receive *general traditions* of the *Catholick Church*, such as  
 ' is this, concerning the *definite number* of the books of the *Ca-*  
 ' *nonical Scripture* : and if I would assume a schismatical hu-  
 ' mor, I might with as good warrants deny that there are so ma-  
 ' ny books in the *Canon*, as the *Catholick Church* says there be,  
 ' as you deny *Episcopacie* to be of *Apostolical institution*.

Thus have I briefly shewn you the passages between the  
*Anticovenanter* and the *Covenanter*, which I leave to your con-  
 sideration, and return to my purpose. From this sweet har-  
 mony in the preceding points, especially of your *independ-*  
*ent power* in Church-matters, there followeth another pa-  
 rallel by way of consequence, viz. that you may excommuni-  
 cate your King, if he do not obey the Acts and Constituti-  
 ons of your Assemblies. Thus you threatned King *James*, and  
 his Council both, with Excommunication, if he would not  
 execute your Acts of your Assembly ; and good reason, seeing  
 it is the *supreme judicatory*, and the King is a *Son of your*  
*Church*, from whom he ought to take the meaning. And if he  
 be refractory, why may not the Assembly Excommunicate  
 him, as *Ambrose* did *Theodosius*? And as I have said already  
 from your *Travers*, of your Government, *Huic Discipline*

*omnes Principes, &c.* There is a necessity that all Princes & Monarchs should submit their Scepter, and obey this Discipline. Its your chief Commander in the Camp royal. Thomas Cartwright being asked, *Whether the King himself might be excommunicated,* answered, That Excommunication should not be exercised upon Kings, I utterly dislike: and so do we also; yea, albeit they be not Hereticks themselves, yet if they do not punish such as their Pastors command them, they may be excommunicate. *Potest ac debet Pastor Regibus jubere ut puniant Hereticos, & nisi fecerint, etiam cogere per excommunicationem.* The Pastor may, and ought to command Kings to punish hereticks, and if they do it not, even to compel them with excommunication. But especially, *si sit hereticorum vel schismaticorum fautor, receptor, vel defensor;* if he be a favourer, receiver, or defender of Hereticks, and Schismatics. If your Bishops be such men, is not this your Kings fault? Your fault is, that you use too much lenity, in not ascending from the Miter to the Crown; for this may stand very well with your Tenent and ours, though Protestant Divines disclaim it: for your Buchanan teacheth you, that not only it is lawful to excommunicate Princes, but that they should both depose him, and destroy him; for he says, *Ministers may excommunicate Princes, and he being by excommunication cast into hell, is not worthy to enjoy any life upon earth.* But truly Knox and Buchanan are more rigid than we are herein; for howbeit we grant, that it's lawful to excommunicate Kings, yet we hold it not necessary, that upon excommunication either deposition, or killing should follow. Indeed by our common Tenent it will follow, that Excommunication is an antecedent to deprivation, or killing; but we do not hold that deprivation or killing of Princes is a necessary consequent, or effect of Excommunication. For (say we) *quando talis effectus adjungitur, non est effectus ipsius excommunicationis, sed specialis poena simul cum excommunicatione imposita.* When such an effect is joyned to Excommunication, it's not the effect of it, but a special punishment imposed with it. But its wonderful to see the wide difference between this our Tenent and yours, and that which Protestants hold; for they make the power of the supreme Magistrate Architectonick, and subject unto it, all power civil and Ecclesiastical.

So

Bellar. contra  
Baylainm.

Azor. inst.  
moral. part. 2.  
l. 10. cap. 9.

Buchan. de  
jure reg. apud  
Scot. p. 70.

Suarez de cen-  
sur. disp. 15.  
sect. 6.

So that as in civil affairs they use the counsel and help of Politicians and Jurisconsults for establishing of Laws, according to reason; so in Ecclesiastical business, they use the help and advice of learned Divines, for establishing Religion according to Gods Word, which ought never to depart from their hands.

And its most boldly said by them in the words of Bishop Davenant: *Reges non ita astringuntur Episcoporum vel Theologorum suorum opinionibus, quin si adversentur legi divina (cujus oportet reges suaosissimos & peritissimos esse) teneantur ex officio regio, veram religionem illis omnibus licet reclamantibus tueri, & subditis suis proponere*: Kings are not so tied to the opinions of their Bishops and Theologues, but if they be contrary to the Law of God (of the which Kings ought to be great studiers, and very well skilled) they are bound by their Kingly office to defend the true religion, and set it before their Subjects, albeit all those Divines should cry out against it. But those men are Court-Parasites, as your usual word is; or, as Beccanus calls those that defend the Kings supremacy, *regios adulatores*, King-flatterers, And I admire that Tertullian, being under Heathen Emperours, should be guilty of those flatteries, while he says in a Court-like complement, *Reges in solius Dei potestate sunt, a quo sunt secundi, post quem primi, ante omnes, & super omnes deos & homines*: Kings are only in the power of God, from whom they are second, after whom they are first, before all, and above all gods and men. But I like not to trouble my self with such men, but proceed to another head.

Daven deter.  
quest. 19.

Tertul. ad  
Scap.

Which is concerning the power of your Discipline in temporal things, wherein is a question, Whether our or your discipline, the chief Commander in the Camp Royal, have the greatest power. You do learnedly hold, that the Kings high Court of Parliament cannot hinder you to make Laws Ecclesiastical, seeing your Ecclesiastical government is independent. Yea, you do hold, that your Assemblies may repeal and adnull, even the Ecclesiastical laws that are confirmed in Parliament, so that upon your re-calling them, the sanction of the Parliament is nullified, and of no effect. Your own words are Emphatical: *Albeit Acts of general Assemblies be ratified in Parliament, yet a General Assembly may recall those confirmed Acts, which being adnullled,*

IX.

Answer to the  
Marquess Ha-  
milton's De-  
claration.

Ibidem.

adnulled, the civil ratification and sanction falls *ex consequenti*. Certainly, I dare promise you the Popes blessing for this most learned *Thesis*: for now a door is opened to let in all Popery, whether the King will or no; so that I trust (as I said at the beginning) our Union shall be full. For since your Assemblies have such power over Parliaments, as to *adnuil* all Ecclesiastical laws confirmed therein (as you have done already with Episcopacy, and the articles of Perth, which stand ratified and confirmed by divers acts of Parliament) then it shall be easy for you at any Assembly, when, or where you will, to repeal and *adnuil* all the Ecclesiastical laws ratified and confirmed by Act of Parliament in favour of the Protestant Religion, and to establish new laws for our Roman Religion in stead of it, though the King,

*Bell. de cleri-  
cū lib. 1. c. 29.*

Parliament, and Council should resist you. You have good reason for it: for as, Bellarmine says, *Habet se potestas Ecclesiastica ad secularem, quomodo Spiritus se habet ad carnem, quam regit, moderatur, & aliquando cohibet. Caro autem nullum habet imperium in spiritum, neq; illum ulla in re dirigere, vel judicare, vel coercere potest. Sic igitur potestas ecclesiastica, quæ spiritualis est, ac per hoc naturaliter seculari superior, secularem potestatem, cum opus est, dirigere, judicare, & coercere potest, ipsam vero à seculari dirigi, vel coerceri nullâ ratione permittitur.* The Ecclesiastical power is to the secular power as the spirit is to the flesh, which rules, moderates, and sometimes restrains. But the flesh hath no command over the spirit; neither can it direct, or judge, or restrain it in any thing. So then the ecclesiastical power, which is spiritual, and therefore naturally superior to the secular, may direct, judge, and restrain the secular power when it is needful. But by no reason it is permitted to be directed or restrained by the secular power: and therefore when your King did by his Proclamation discharge your Assembly at Glasgow, which ought to direct him, and not be cohibited or restrained by him, you did well to sit still, and *adnuil* divers Acts of Parliameur. And in your Protestation against the Kings Proclamation for raising your Assembly, as it was your wisdom not to enter into direct action with his Majesty, so it was your courage to summon all the Lords of his Majesties Council, who consented to the Proclamation to appear before the Parliament the 25 of May, 1639. There to be punished for giving the King evil counsel, viz. to raise the

Protestat.  
Novemb. 29.  
1638.



*Assemblies.* When the K. commands one thing by *Acts of Parliament*, or by his *Proclamations*, you may protest against the same, and command the contrary in all your *protestations*, and *acts of Assembly*: for as we say well, *penes Ecclesia prepositos fas persequi. Angl. cultus est amplissima interdicendi nobis, ne reges obedientia & obsequio nostro honoremus.* These that are set over us in the Church have a very large power given them, even to interdict us, that we honour not our Ks. with our obedience. So the Council of *Trent* commands all to receive the decrees, without regard to their *Princes consent*, and denounceth *excommunication* in case of refusal, requires an *oath of obedience*, approveth *violence* in rooting out of heresie, and ordains the *Inquisition* for them. Therefore when the King by his *Proclamation* did command that the *Covenant of K. James*, as it was in 1581. year of God, should be subscribed, you by your authority did prohibit any to subscribe it, but will have your own subscribed. For this cause in your *general Assembly* you have set down an *Act discharging subscription to the Covenant which was subscribed by the Ks. Commissioner, and Lords of the Council*, which his Majesty, in his *Marginal note*, calls a *Traiterous act*. You have another excellent *Act, discharging all Printers in Scotland to print any thing in Ecclesiastical affairs without the warrant of Jhonston your Clerk*. You have *Acts also concerning Mills, Salt pans, and Market days on Munday, and Saturday*. And especially your *Assembly hath adnulled his Majesties Court of high Commission*: all this we see in the *Index* of your *Acts*, and all is well done, though it encroach upon the *civil power*; for in *temporalibus Ecclesia non solum precipit, dirigit, sed cogcet, disponit, virtute potestatis gubernativa*: In *temporal things* the Church not only commands and directs, but restrains and disposes by virtue of her *gubernative power*. And you know we do not maintain a *direct power in temporal things*, but an *indirect power in ordine ad spiritualia*; for we stand not upon words, when we are sure of the *matter it self*, and may bring all *temporality* within the compass of our *power*. But I pray you, why did you forget to adnull the *Acts of Parliament*, that do ratifie the *King's Supremacy*, especially in *spiritual things*? since you have adnulled other *Acts of Parliament*, why have you prejudged your

*Autor. lib. ad  
persecut. Angl.  
fol. 336.*

*Oddard. west  
in Sanctuar.  
juris Pontif.  
§. 6.*

*Thinus addi-  
en to Holin-  
shed, p. 446.*

your selves so much as to leave those acts for *Supremacy* uncancelled? If you had remembred the complaint of your holy brethren in former times, you would not have forgotten this, but as you have *de facto* taken it away, so *de jure* you would have declared the same an *unlawful act*: for (as your Predecessors said) If the King have *supreme power in causes Ecclesiastical*, then there is nothing left of the whole ancient forms of *Justices and Policies in the spiritual estate but a naked shadow*.

X.

I go on to a tenth Parallel, which is your *dispensation with oaths*, even with the *oath of allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and with the *oath of Canonical obedience*. You will not upbraid us again with this, as if we were only *enemies and traitors* to Kings: For we dispense with no subjects oath of allegiance, so long as they defend the religion; but if they either fall from the religion themselves, or will not defend it by the civil sword, we do absolve subjects of their *oath of Allegiance*, as we did in the *holy League of France*, tying all to us by covenant very like unto yours, and in the end took up arms against the King: for Kings fall from their authority, when they fall from religion, as you say in your Covenant: *The Kings Authority and true Religion are so strictly joyned together, that they stand and fall together*. And therefore you do well to limit your obedience unto him, so long as he *defends the Religion, and Laws*, wherein if he fail, by oath of Covenant you have made a *mutual band of defence against him*, so that what is *done to the least of you, shall be done to you all in general, and particular*. And so, if he shall do any harm to the meanest *Kitchin-boy*, you are all in general and particular bound to take his part against your King. Now all this could not be lawfully done without a *Dispensation* and *Abso- lution* from your oath of Allegiance taken long before the Covenant. Our Enemies say, that they who thus being absolved from their *oath of allegiance*, do take up arms against their Prince, will have such success in the end as *Radulphus Duke of Smevia*, (whom *Gregory* the seventh absolved from his oath of Allegiance to *Henry* the fourth the Emperor) received in bat- tel against the Emperor, and hope that they shall make the like confession as he did. For he being deadly wounded in the right hand, said to his company, *You see how my right hand*

*Helmold in  
Chron: Slavo-  
t. 4m, cap. 29.*

is sore of a hurt, it is the hand whereby I swore to my Lord and Master, that I would never annoy him, that I would never lie in ambush to intercept his glory: but the Popes commands brought me to this, to break my Oath, and usurp an honour which was not due to me. You see what end it is come to, I have received this mortal wound upon the hand that brake this Oath. Let them then who have incited us to do so, consider in what manner they urged us, for fear that we be not brought to the downfall of damnation. &c. But be not you troubled nor afraid of shadows: but let Unity be earnestly recommended, as that which strengthens the cause, and will make you invincible. Your success hath been great hitherto, so that you may have confidence for the time to come.

Covenanters  
inform. for  
Defensive. §.  
4. & 2.

You have also dispensed with the Oath of Canonical obedience: for I cannot think that you would exact of your Clergy the Oath of your Covenant, except you did first give them a dispensation for their former Oaths. For all have sworn the Oath of Canonical Obedience, some once, some thrice, and all admitted since the year 1618. had sworn to Perith Articles, and the present government of the Church, and now have taken the direct contradictory Oath, and abjured them all. And therefore it was not well advised by you, to make an Act in your general Assembly at Glasgow, Novemb. 1638. declaring the nullity of the Oath exacted by Prelates of intrants, and of their bonds of Conformity.

But here I must tell you, that you are gone a little beyond us in your dispensation with the Oath of Allegiance to your King, and taking the Oath of mutual defence against him: for according to our practice, you ought by all means to have endeavoured to recall him from his errors, and being obstinate, then to excommunicate him: for as our Tolet says well, *Licet sit notorium crimen principis, non absolvuntur vassalli à juramento (ut bene dicit Cajetanus) ante denunciationem ab Ecclesia: quâ factâ, non solum sunt absoluti ab obedientia, sed tenentur non obedire, nisi forte propter periculum vitæ, vel damnum bonorum temporalium.* Albeit the crime of the Prince be notorious, yet the Vassals are not absolved from their Oath (as Cajetan says well) before the sentence be denounced by the Church: which being done, they are not only absolved from obedience

obedience, but also are bound not to obey, except perchance for danger of their life, or loss of temporal goods. And *Emanuel Sa in* *manuel Sa* says the same. *Tyrannice gubernans, iuste acquisito* *vocet Tyrannus.* *Dominio, non potest spoliari sine publico iudicio: latâ verò sen-* *textiâ, potest quisq; fieri executor. Potest autem depni à populo* *etiam qui illi iuraverat obedientiam perpetuam, si manitus non* *vult corrigi.* A Tyrant that ruleth tyrannically, cannot have his justly acquired Dominion taken from him, without publick judgment: but the sentence being given, any man may be the executioner, and he may be deposed by the people who have sworn perpetual obedience unto him, if after admonition he will not be amended. And then it followeth clearly which *Suarez* saith, *Si subditi juramento soluti sunt,* *quâvis rex ille prodicionem vocet, omnisq; regni aut reipublice* *conspirationem, reverâ tamen talis non est, sed iusta defensio, vel* *iustum bellum, seu supplicium.* If the subjects be absolved from their oath, albeit that the King call it treason, and a conspiracy of all the Kingdom and Common-wealth, yet certainly it is no such thing, but a just defence, or just war, or punishment.

*Suarez lib. 6.*  
*cap. 3.*

*Philopat. 2.*  
*pag. 109.*

But I must crave your pardon, for saying that you went beyond us; for there are some of us as hot blooded as your selves. *De fide certum est quemcunque Principem Christianum, si* *à Religione Catholica deflexerit, & alios avocare voluerit, excide-* *re statim omnipotestate & dignitate, idq; ante prolatam Papæ sen-* *tentiam: posseq; & debere subditos, si vires habeant, istiusmodi* *Hereticum ex hominum Christianorum dominatu ejicere.* It is certainly a matter of Faith, that whatsoever Christian Prince shall depart from the Catholick Religion, and shall withdraw others, doth immediately fall from all power and dignity, even before the Popes sentence be given; and that the Subjects may, and should (if they have strength) cast forth such an Heretic from the dominion of Christian men. To this purpose your Reformer *Knox* says well: *If Princes be Tyrants against* *God, and his Truth, their Subjects are free from their oath of O-* *bedience.* And in his History of Scotland, pag. 343. he sets the Nobility on work, saying, *God hath appointed the Nobility to* *bridle the inordinate appetite of Princes, and in so doing they can-*

*Knox to Eng-*  
*land and*  
*Scotland, fol.*  
*78.*

not be accused, as resistors of Authority. And again, *It is the duty of the Nobility to repress the rage and insolency of Princes,* Knox Appeal. fol. 33.  
 and then, he conjoynes the Nobility and the people together against the Supreme Magistrate, saying, *The Nobility and Commonalty ought to reform Religion, and in that case may remove from honours, and may punish such, as God hath condemned,* Deut. 12. *of what estate, condition, or honour soever.* For as he sayes well in the same place; *The punishment of such crimes as touch the Majesty of God, doth not appertain to Kings and chief Rulers onely, but also to the whole body of the people, and to every member of the same; as occasion, vocation, and ability shall serve to revenge the injury done against God.* I will not spend time to shew this by your practises against *Queens regent,* who did oppose your course, how by M. Knox and his followers, an *Oath of Confederacy* was taken: and the Nobility threatened to joyn with you under the pain of excommunication, Knox hist. of the Church of Scot. pag. 217.  
 pag. 272. Then an imperious letter was written to her Majesty, that if she should hinder their information, *\* They should be compelled to take the Sword of just defence: and protested, that without the reformation which they desired, they would never be subject to any mortal man.* And last of all, They deposed her Majesty at the Council of our good friend, M. Knox, by a formal act penned by M. Knox, and set down in his History of the Church in Scotland. And you do well (as you say in your Covenant) to follow the laudible example of your Progenitors, as dutiful children, according to that of the Wiseman. *Hear, ye children, the instruction of a father, and attend to know understanding: for I give you good doctrine; forsake you not my law.* And our worthy father Mariana hath shewn you a ready way, which you, as dutiful Sons, have hitherto diligently followed. *Non dissimulandum esse, expeditam autem maximè, & tutam viam esse, sit publici conventus facultas detur, communi consensu, quid statuendum sit deliberare, fixum ratumque habere quod communi sententiâ steterit. Monendus imprimis Princeps erit, atque ad sanitatem revocandus, &c. qui si medicinam respuat, neque spes ulla sanitatis relinquatur, sententiâ pronuntiata, licebit reipublica ejus imperium detestare primum. Et quoniam bellum necessariò concitabitur, ejus defendendi* Marian. lib. 6. de reg. cap. 6. pag. 59.  
 Prov. 4. 1.  
 F

*dendi consilia explicare, expedire arma, pecunias in belli sumptus imperare populis: & si res feret, neque aliter se republica tueri possit, eodem defensionis jure, ac vero potiori auctoritate & propria, principem publicè hostem declaratum.* FERRO PERIMERE. This is not to be dissembled that it is the most expedient and safe way, if a public meeting may be granted, to deliberate what shall be done by common consent, to hold that as firm and sure, which shall be concluded by a common consent. First of all, the Prince is to be admonished, and to be brought to his wits again, &c. If he reject the medicine, and no hope of his recovery be left, when the sentence is passed upon him, the Commonwealth may first refuse his command; and because of necessity, there will be a stirring up for war, they may unfold their counsels for defence thereof, and shew that it is expedient to have armour, and to command the people to advance monies for the charge of the wars. And if the matter will suffer, and the Commonwealth cannot otherwise defend it self, with that same right of defence, but with a better authority, and peculiar of their own, they may kill the Prince, being declared publicly an enemy.

You have followed this counsel so full, that you have praised it to the last comma; yea, till you come to the last two words, FERRO PERIMERE. At which, the Amicoveneranter cries out with a shout, *God save the King, let his soul be bound up in the bundle of life.* Let this Dream of Ferro Perimere be to them that hate him, and the interpretation thereof to his enemies.

\*To convert them from Dan even to Beersheba.

First of all, you sent from *Edinburgh*, thousands of letters to all corners of the kingdome for a \* public convention; then by the common consent of all that appear, your Covenant (made by the chief men of the confederacy) was sworn and subscribed, and all of them (bound not to give obedience to the King) but to hold sure and firm, what should be thought good by common consent. Your admonitions, supplications and protestations have been multiplied, but all in vain: for, as you say in your protestations, he is so far from acknowledging those things to be unlawful, which you have



have condemned ; that in his Proclamations he holdeth the plain *contrary opinion* ; and only doth remove them, as they say, for the hardness of your heart, and to preserve peace in the Land. And therefore, since he rejects your medicine, as poyson ; Is there any hope of his recovery, that is, that ever he shall be of your judgment ?

And as for *lata sententia*, though it be not done formally yet it's done very *materially*, in every corner of the Kingdom. It's a remarkable sentence past by one of you, preaching upon some text of the Prophet *Zachary* (though it may be said, that his Commenter was from *2 Sam. 15. 16*) *The Lord hath forsaken our King, and given him over to be led by the Bishops, the blind brood of Antichrist ; who are hot Begles, hunting for the blond of Gods Saints.* And another preached as well, upon the *1 Cor. 14. 1.* Where he told, that they of the holy Covenant were like *Israel at the red Sea, and Pharaoh and his Host coming upon them.* Another was as forward as any of them, When he compared the King to a wicked *Italian*, who delighted to *kill men both in soul and body.* Another that he might hinder the people to subscribe the Kings Covenant, preached unto them. *That the Kings offer of the Covenant to them was, like Joabs salutation of Amasa, who took him by the beard, and said, art thou well my brother, and then stabbed him in the fifth rib.* And M. Cant (whom for honours sake I name) his Sermon at Glasgow is known to all our Society, he prayed God to *take away the Kings idolatry, and said, that the dear Saints in England had their nose and their ears shut, for the profession of the Gospel.* I might be infinite in this point, but because it is so well known, I spare further instancing.

The next point is *Detractatio imperij*, this you have done excellently, by not only refusing obedience to his *Law civil and ecclesiastical*, and to his *Proclamations* ; but also by continual protesting against him, and exhorting all to stand to the Covenant. You have also kept your *counsel of war*, provided *Armour*, laid *taxations* on the people to defray the charges ; and the King is *publico hostis declaratus*, publicly declared to be your enemy by the ministry, pressing them to Armes by your learned informations : and have taken all his Cattles and

R. E.

D. E.

H. R.

G. Y.

Protest. at  
Edenb. 18.  
Decemb.  
1638.

Strength from him, and say that they are the keyes of your own Kingdome, which you will keep your selves. And lastly you are come so neer to *Ferro Perimere*, that you have met him with offensive armes. But I pray you, what made you stand here? what made you make a period, where was no comma? Can you think it unlawful to kill a King, and yet set your muskets, pikes, and Canons before the face of a King, and shoot at randome? it cannot be, that you have learned Knox and Buchanan so ill, and you deserve no reward. Let that golden sentence of Buchanan never be forgotten. Whiles he sayes, *It were good that rewards were appointed by the people, for such as should kill Tyrants, as commonly there is for those, that have killed either Wolves and Bears, or taken their whelps.*

Buch. de Jure  
reg. apud Scot.  
pag. 40.  
Suarez. lib. 6.  
§. 6.

Your case was, that which is supposed by Suarez, *Si supponatur rex aggrediens civitatem ut illam injuste perdat, & civis interficiat, vel quid simile, tunc cerè licebit principi resistere, etiam occidendo illum, si aliter fieri non possit defensio, tum quia si pro vita propria hoc licet, multo magis pro communi bono, tum etiam quia civitas ipsa tunc habet justum bellum defensivum, contra injustum invasorem, etiam si proprius sit rex.* If it be supposed that the King is coming against a city, unjustly to destroy it, and to kill the Citizens, or any such like thing, Then certainly, they may resist the Prince even killing him, if they cannot otherwise defend themselves: both because, if this be lawful to be done for a mans own life, much more for the common good, and also because the city itself hath then a just defensive war against an unjust invader, albeit he were their own King. This *Thesis* hath been well studied by you, for it is the ground of all your learned arguments for war.

Novemb. 2.  
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But now since his Majesty is returned back again with his army, and this first storm is gone without hurt, be not you idle, but labour for some friends at Court who may inform you of his Majesties Proceedings. And if you send any to court, let that be ever one of your instructions, which you gave to the Earl of Dumfermling, and the Lord London. *To have frequent and sure advisement to you how affaires go, with their advice. Amen.* And be still upon your guard, and let the *Flac-*

*cinian*

evilian counsel take place with you (if you hear that he shall refuse to approve of you proceedings) to affright him with the terror of insurrection again. And desire all that are doubtful and scrupulous of this matter to read Knox's History and Buchanan's, where they shall find our doctrine very clear, The peoples power is great. *Populus rege est prastantior & melior, &c.* The people are better than the King, and of greater authority. For the people hath the same power over the King, that the King hath over any one Person. *Populo jus est, ut imperium cui vult deferat,* the people hath power to bestow the Crown at their pleasure: its not birthright, nor succession, nor propinquity of blood that must be respected. Therefore Knox wrote to England and Scotland; Its not birth-right only, nor propinquity of blood, that maketh a King lawfully to reign above a people, professing Christ Jesus. Let his Majesty know that you are no Dunces, but men of learning who know the greatness of your power, and the smallness of his, notwithstanding the flattery of Court Parasites.

*Buch. de jure  
reg. pag. 61.  
Idem pag. 50.*

*fol. 77.*

But before I end this point, I cannot but admire why you have not continued your Parliament even to the end, but suffered his Majesty to adjourn it, you profess that you follow the laudable example of his Progenitors, but if you do as they did 1560. you would not grant his Majesty a Negative voice, nor suffer the Parliament to be adjourned, but to have done with it as you did with the Assembly at Glasgow, Novemb. 29. 1638. to continue to the end, and then for the fashion to have sought his Approbation: for the reason is alike, as your assemblies are above him in spiritualibus, so is your Parliament in temporalibus, and may be holden though there be neither Sword, Scepter, nor Crown there. For as Knox saith, those things were rather pompous and glorious vain Ceremonies, than any substantial points of necessity required to any lawful Parliament. And therefore after you had kept that Parliament of your own accord in anno 1560. for the fashions sake, you send to the King of France and your Scotch Queen his wife, to desire them to ratify the same. But upon their refusal you spake as it became you, of their ratification. We little regarded it, or yet do regard, for all that we did was rather to shew

*Knox hist. of  
the Church of  
Scotland pag.  
502.*

*Idem pag. 500.*

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*stem our dutiful obedience, than to beg of them any strength to our Religion. If you go not thus farr, you come short in following the laudable example of your Progenitors. And yet when I consider the instructions given by the body of the Parliament to the Earl of Dumfermling, and the Lord London, I perceive that you are not a foot behind your Progenitors, seeing you will not grant it to be in the Kings power to prorogate the assembly, except you all consent unto it; for your sixth Article of the instructions is thus. Item, If the King will not condescend to go on presently in Parliament, that the King prorogate the Parliament with consent of the States, according to the conditions which you have. I see further, that if he prorogate the assembly, it must not only be with your consent, but also he must grant your petition sent to his Majesty, by the Earl of Kinross from the Parliament; before you will grant to any peaceable conclusion, or prorogation of the Parliament: for your sole Argument to have your petition granted is in those words, Without this point be granted, it is not possible to make a peaceable conclusion, or that they can rest satisfied with the prorogation of the Parliament. And lest that the people should rest satisfied herewith, and your Democracy take no good success, the Ministers would be exhorted to do their part, not to suffer the people to settle upon their dregs, but to hold them in perpetual motion till it end, to your perpetual quietness. This was the practise of the zealous Ministers your Predecessors in the dayes of the Queen. Regent, Queen Mary, and in the tender age of King James, who did both in private and publik oppone themselves to authority for the maintenance of our tenents concerning the civil Magistrate, and our other Prerogatives, This made King James our common enemy, speak the truth in exceeding harsh termes, while he said. E ministerio homines nonnulli precipites, ignei, audaces, in hac humanarum divinarumq; rerum confusione, tam gratiosi apud plebem facti sunt, ut degustata dominationis dulcedine, ceperunt Democraticam reipub. formam sibi somnare; & primo avia, deinde matris mea subventionem elati (& nimirum blandiebatur iis successus) postremo pupulari mea azate ad Democratia sua stabilimentum diu abusi, jam*  
poteſta-

Basilic. doron.  
pag. 147.

potestatem tribunitiā spe certa devoraverant: ut in populari re- publica cum plebem, quò vellent, facìle circumducerent, omnium negotiorum momenta soli temperarent, Itaq; nulla in mea pupil- lari aetate vel post seditio contigit, quin hos homines sui furoris & amentia patronos seditiosi facere conati sunt. Crebra adversus me in tribunitijs concionibus calumnia spargebatur, non quod crimen aliquod designassem, sed quia rex eram, quod omni crimine pejus habebatur. Some head-strong, fiery, bold men of the Ministers in this confusion of humane and divine things, became so gracious with the multitude, that having tasted the sweet- ness of government, they began to dream to themselves a Democratical form of the Common-wealth. And first being puffed up with the overthrow of my Grand-mother: and secondly, of my own mother, (and truly their success flattered them:) Last of all, having long time abused my tender age for the establishing of their Democracy, they had already by an assured hope fully taken to themselves a tribu- nitial power: that in a popular Common-wealth, they a- lone ruled all business of moment, seeing they might easily lead the people, whither they pleased. And therefore, no sedition hath happened either in my tender age or afterward, wherein the seditious did not make those men (the Ministers) the patrons of their fury and madness. There were frequent calumnies scattered abroad in their Tribunitial sermons a- gainst me, not that I had committed any crime, but because I was a King, which was esteemed worse than all crimes. Indeed I find our Father *Becanus* telling the same, that you are ene- mies to Monarchy, in the example of *Queen Mary*. *An non Se- renissima Maria, Serenissimi Jacobi mater habuit primatum* Becan examen. Concord. Angl. *temporalem in Scotia? omnino habuit, An non per vos de facto privata est? Nemo dubitat.* Had not the most illustrious *Queen Mary*, the mother of the most excellent King *James*, the Supremacy in temporal things in Scotland? [for neither you nor we will let them have it in spiritual things] certainly she had it: but did not you deprive her of it? no-man doubts of it.

I will follow out then another parallel, and that is, *De* XI.  
*cacà obediētiā.* Of blind obedience, which we both require  
now

now of our people. Your Covenant was mightily called in question, even by the Commons, and yet you forced them to swear, and subscribe it upon your bare word? telling them, that since the Church men have sworn and subscribed it themselves, that the Commons ought to do it, *and follow their Leaders, whom God at this time hath largely furnished with courage and counsel, for the good of his Kirk and Kingdome.* I hear, that the things which you have condemned in your general Assembly, were in the judgement of the common people of a contrary nature; but now, having in their Covenant sworn in judgement and practise, to follow the determination of the first general assembly that should be kept, they are forced to forsake their own judgement, and embrace the contrary, by vertue of the power of the general assembly. To this purpose we say: The people are to be subject to their leaders, that if they err in defining any doubt, the people \* *vi regiminis*, by the force of our government over them, ought to err. For in this blind obedience, \* *requiritur propria voluntatis & iudicii abnegatio, mancipatio & in potestatem superioris deditio.* There is required the denyal of our own will and judgement, and a giving our selves over, as slaves in the power of our Superiours. To this purpose your *Andrew Cant* (whom I name oft for honours sake) answered as he was very able to do, to those who would have heard of him some reasons for the subscription of the Covenant, which he so earnestly recommended in *Glasgow*, and never brought a reason for it; he told them true, that they must *deny learning and reason, and help Christ a life.* And our ever honoured General, the first founder of our Society, *Ignatius Loyola*, tells us that *Prudentia est imperantis non obediens.* Wisdome belongeth to the Commander, not to the obeyer. And therefore his ordinance is this to his followers. *Statuere debetis vobiscum quicquid superior precipit ipsius Dei preceptum esse & voluntatem, atq; ut ad credenda que fides catholica proponit, toto animo assensusq; vestro statim incumbitis, sic ad ea facienda quaecunq; superior dixerit, cuncto quodam impetu voluntatis parendi cupide, sine ulla prorsus disquisitione feramini.* You ought to resolve with your selves that whatsoever your Superiour commands you, is the command and will of God him-

\* Colloq. Ratisbon. Sess. 9. pag. 282. & 288.  
\* Haseenm. pag. 175.

Ignat. epist. de virtut. obed. 18.



himself. And even as you without delay yield with full mind and assent to believe those things which the Catholick faith propones, so you ought to be carried to the doings of whatsoever your superiour shall say, with a certain blind force of a will, that is desirous to obey. So said your *Cant* in that same Sermon at *Glasgow*, while he told the people, to whom he recommended the Covenant, *That he was sent to them with a commission from Christ to bid them subscribe the Covenant, which was Christs contract, and that he himself was come as a wooer to them for the bridegroom, and called upon them to come to be hand-fasted by subscribing that contract.* And told them plainly, *that he would not depart the town, till he got the names of all, who should refuse to subscribe that contract, of whom he promised to complain to his Master.*

I have yet more matter of congratulation: for, whereas formerly you did hold that Ecclesiastical laws do not bind the conscience, you do well now to maintain the contrary. And therefore you have deservedly depoted, & thrust from amongst you those ministers, who only offered to suffer your laws to bind the outward man, and to conform with you in practice, but would not covenant with you, nor swear to be of your judgement. As for example. They promised to sit at the receiving of the Communion, as you do sit on your rail, and thus would conform in practice with you, but they requested you not to burden their conscience, to believe sitting only necessary, and that kneeling is Idolatry. The like may be instanc'd in all the rest of the matters controverted amongst you. Since they would therefore conform in practice, and only differ in judgement; why might not you compel them to subscribe the covenant, and make them swear with you before God and the world, that they were convinc'd in their consciences of the lawfulness of such things? The Scripture bids compel men to the wedding, neither need you regard them, who call your holy violence a Spanish inquisition.

Furthermore, I am confident that you shall not be such enemies to our works of Suprerogation, as formerly you have been. For when the King urged you to subscribe the confession of Faith, you refused it, drawing your reason from the very ground, which hath produced all our works of su-

XII.

XIII.

pererogation, which is this, *That a good work, which is done of a mans own accord, is more excellent than that which is done by command of a Superiour*, as you reason learnedly in your protestation in September 1638. and so conclude, that you have done a more sincere work, and acceptable in covenanting without authority, than if you should do it now at the command of your Superiour: for, (as you say) thus doing, *the more liberty, the less hypocrisie, and more sincerity hath appeared*. If this ground of yours be removed, then both your Covenant, and our *Evangelical Counsells* will perish. And yet the *Anticovenant* will say, that the Scripture calls him the good servant that doth his *Masters will*: and whosoever do more than they are commended by their Masters, get *Affricanus* thanks: *Non amo nimium diligentes*.

## XIV.

I thought to have congratulated with you, that you are most like unto us in *Equivocation*; for your own ends, to perswade the people to believe, that which your own heart knoweth to be most false. As for example, to perswade the people before they did subscribe the covenant, that it is for defence of the King, against whom (you say) no man is bound by the covenant to rise up in defensive arms: and that you are only bound to suffer, if his Majesty were to invade you. But when they have subscribed, then you tell them that they must provide armour, to resist the Kings coming to invade you. This made many poor simple men complain, that they were wronged, and that they would at least be *perjured*, if they should do so. Yet the Scripture is plain for such equivocation: for when the army sent by the King of Syria, came to *Dothan*, where the Prophet *Elisha* was to fetch him to the King; the Prophet came out to them, and said, *This is not the way, neither is this the city, follow me, and I will bring you to the man whom you seek*; But he led them to *Samaria*, the quite contrary way. But here is the difference between you and the Propther, that when he had misled them and brought them to *Samaria*, he did not detain them as captives from their Masters, but said, *Set bread and water before them, that they may eat and drink, and go to their Masters*. But you do not so, but keep them in the net, in the which they are taken, that they cannot escape; but must joyn with you

you against their Master : to whom they shall not return, but with defensive armes ; such as are not shield and buckler, but Pike, Musket, and Canon. I commend your policy herein, for you know, that the King doth not think, that the common people did ever aim at the contents and consequents of the Covenant, and so doth not impute any disloyalty unto them : and when he sees that you have them so close tied unto you, they become your buckler and defensive armes ; for whose sake he hath spared you, whom he thinks to be heads of a faction against him, so that here *multitudo sociorum parit impunitatem criminum*. And to speak the truth, seeing he condemneth your zeal to religion, as if it were rebellion against him ; and yet hath given you such way, without curbing your course in the beginning, we cannot but say, that his innate Love to his ancient Kingdome, whereof he hath given plentiful testimonies, hath brought him to this strait, that he hath neglected his Fathers direction, which he was taught by experience, and which King Charles will teach his Son by a double example.

The direction was this, *Si ab initio clementiam ostentes, crescet* Basilic. Doron.  
*in immensum delinquentium numerus, crescet tui contemptus :* & pag. 145.

*cum punire volueris, major erit fontium quam insontium numerus, nec promptum erit discernere unde facere oporteat initium pœne, Atque ita multos perdes invitus, quos tempestivâ paucorum pœnâ servare potuisses. Tu meo ex exemplo potes hîc esse cautiôr, nam ego cum mansuetudine mea instituissem populum irabere ad legum obedientiam ; contra accidit, ut omnia plena facta sint tumultibus. Ego verò pro mercede nè grates quidem retulerim.* If at the beginning thou shew clemency, the number of delinquents will greatly increase, and the contempt of thy self will increase : and when thou wilt punish delinquents, the number of the guilty will be more than of the innocent, neither shall it be ready for thee to discern, whereat thou must begin punishment. And so thou shalt destroy many against thy will, which thou mightest save by the timely punishment of a few. In this point thou maist be more wary by my example : For when I had purposed by meekness, to draw the people to the obedience of the laws, the contrary happened ; so that all was filled with uproares. And as for me, I got not so much as thanks for my reward.

But go you on, and that you may more and more perswade them to adhere unto you, tell them as you do, that if they shall come under the Kings power, he will utterly destroy them; and that his Proclamations and promises are not to be regarded, since in your judgement he hath broken the oath at his Coronation, when he sware to God to defend his truth: but would now, if you did not resist him, destroy the religion, the laws and liberties of this Church and Kingdome, as your Protestations and Informations for war do fully shew.

It was also a notable Equivocation, whereby you thrust the simple people from subscribing the Kings Covenant, commanded by his Majesty to be subscribed, as it was professed in anno 1581. and not according to your new interpretation added unto it. For in the year 1581. it was a Covenant drawn up at his Majesties special Command, and by his *special authority*, the oath and subscription was prescribed to his Subjects, and so they sware according to the meaning of the King, that was the exacter of this Oath. So that while his Majesty requireth it now to be subscribed, as it was professed then, he doth it in opposition to this present time, wherein you have put a new Comment upon it, directly contrary to the meaning of King James, who first prescribed it. And it's too evident that Jesuitisme and Puritanisme were both odious to him; and that it was his chief labour (as he sayes himself) to hold up that which you are casting down, so that one of you doth not err, while you call him your enemy in *superlativo*, *infestissimus hostis*. But you did hinder this subscription by a most excellent Equivocation, while you say. *That you would be guilty of mocking of God, and take his name in vain: and as we are not to multiply miracles on Gods part; so ought we not to multiply oaths and covenants on our part, and thus to play with oaths as children with toys*. Thus the people who were with-holden from the Covenant, think that all was true, which you said, not observing that it was an Equivocation: and also a *pia fraud*: for if they had but observed your practice, they would have seen it contrary to this reason of yours; for how oft have you sworn and subscribed your own covenant? At *Edinburgh* where you made it, it was sworn and

Protest. in  
Sept. 1638.  
Reas. 2.

and subscribed by you; when you came home to your Parishes, it was reiterated solemnly by you; when you went to other Parishes, you did, as good examples to them, renew it again and again; and thought it no *mocking of God, nor multiplying of oaths, or taking his name in vain.*

BUT I observe another notable Equivocation, which is so profound in one part of it, that I think we must be your disciples to learn it: while you say, *The swearer is not bound to the meaning of the prescriber of the Oath, nor to his own meaning; but is obliged to the reality rei juratæ.* I am sorry that you were put to this trait, to find out this evasion. The truth was (as I perceive) that your affrighting them *with mocking of God, and taking his name in vain,* did not hinder, but many thousands did subscribe after the *Lord Commissioner*, and *Lords of Counsel.* And this oath being taken, as it was in the 1581. year of God, when King *James* exacted it, it is too evident a consequence, that all that have taken this oath, are so far from abjuring Episcopacy and the Articles of Perth, &c. that by the contrary, they are obliged to defend the same: So that they may say with King *James*, *Mihi precipuus labor est dejectos episcopos restituere, & Puritanorum anarchiam expugnare.* Now, though in your protestation against the subscription of it, you made it one of your reasons why you could not subscribe it, because it was to be exacted according to the meaning of the exacter, which is King *Charles*, Heir of his Fathers opinions, as well as of his Dominions: yet since it is subscribed by many, according to the meaning of the exacter, you remove that rub, by saying, that they are not bound to swear and subscribe according to the meaning of the prescriber of the oath. This is well; for then, when any taketh an oath, he may swear, not according to the exacters meaning, but according to his own; and so none needs to know what we swear.

BUT the subscribers will say, we took the oath according to the meaning of the *prescriber*, and both our meanings, both who did *exact* and *take* the oath, was, that Episcopacy and Perths articles were not abjured. To this you answer, that they are not bound to take it according to either of their meanings,

Answer to the  
Marquess of  
Hamiltons  
Declaration

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nings, but according to the reality *rei juratae*. If it be so, neither the exacter, nor the taker of the oath did know what they swore and subscribed unto. If this be to swear blind obedience, I approve it; if not, I will be glad to be farther made perfect in equivocating: for I can find no third, but either the oath must be taken according to the meaning of the exacter, or of the taker.

But I take your meaning to be, that that oath of the *Kings Covenant* ought to be taken, as we thought to have done with the *Oath of Allegiance* taken by Roman Catholikes in England. The King with his Council used all the wit and prudence that could be had, to cause them to take the oath without any *Equivocation*, or *mental reservation*, and that they should take no *dispensation* from the Pope, for taking such an oath: so that in this case, it was made so clear, that both the prescriber and the taker of the oath could not differ, but be of one mind. But our *Pasceus* did laugh this diligence to scorn, and found out a pretty way to elude such an oath, by telling them; that if the Pope did dissolve that oath, and declare it unlawful, they were no more tied to such an oath.

*Pasceus. Responsum ad Episcopum. Motus. Jacobus. Reg. tit. B. 2. 3.* Vide (inquit) in tanta astutia quanta sit simplicitas, juramentum tot circumstantiis connexuisse existimabat, ut salva conscientia, nulla ratione à quoquam dissolvi possit. Sed videre non potuit, si pontifex juramentum dissolveris, omnes illius nexus, sive de fidelitate Regi prestanda, sive de dispensatione non admittenda, pariter dissolutos fore. Imo aliud dicam admirabilius, juramentum si injustum aperte declaretur, neminem obligat, sed ipso facto nullum est. Regis vero juramentum injustum esse ab ipso ecclesia pastore sufficienter declaratum est. Vides jam in sumum abiisse illius obligationem, ut vinculum quod à tot sapientibus ferreum putabatur, minus sit quam stramineum. Behold (sayes he) how much simplicity is in so much subtilty; he thought to have bound this oath by so many circumstances, that it could be dissolved no manner of way by any man with a safe conscience. But he could not see, that, if the Pope should dissolve this oath, all the knots of it, whether it be of fidelity to be performed to the King, or of a dispensation not to be admitted, are both alike dissolved. Yea, I will tell another more marvel-



marvellous thing, if it be openly declared that the oath is unjust, it doth oblige no man, but by the fact it self it is null. Now this oath of the King is sufficiently declared by the Pastor of the Church himself to be unjust. Now thou seest that the obligation of it is evanished in smoak: so that, that bond, which by so many wisemen was thought to be strong as iron, is weaker than a Rope of Straw.

Thus it was with your Covenant, King *Charles* was very careful to have it subscribed according to his Fathers meaning, who did prescribe the oath *anno* 1581. and his own meaning, which was the same with his Fathers, who approved *Episcopacy* and *Perihs Articles*. So that all Equivocation is here excluded: But (this *Pascenium* trick makes all clear) if *Dickson* or *Henderson*, &c. shall dissolve this oath, and declare it unlawful, it hath no force, as being not according to the *reality* of the things themselves: and thus, are none more tied to the King by Covenant, but may break it as easily as *Sampson* did his cords, and must run your course against his Majesty. I might insist on many instances to prove Equivocation amongst you, if it were needful, but I am confident you shall not be such enemies to it in time to come.

Moreover, your *pie fraudes* have not a little advanced your courses, for though the general cause of all this uproar was pretended to be for defence of religion, laws and liberties, yet (to speak under the Rose) it flowed from private causes and respects; for (not to speak of the contempt of Monarchy, nor of private fretting against Sovereignty by malecontents) the course his Majesty was taking with the tithes, to deliver the ministry, and meaner sort of the Laity from that which was counted bondage and slavery, made many fret to see themselves robbed of that clientely and dependance of the Clergy and Laity, and of that power, command and superiority, which by the tie of tithes they did enjoy. Some had their private quarrels against the Bishops, many could not abide to see them preferred to be on his Majesties Counsel, &c. And a great hatred was working against them, for being the chief instruments that the Ministers maintenance was augmented, and many of the Tithes restored back again,

which

which made many think that in the end all the tithes, and Church-lands would return to the ancient owner, whereby many would be brought to a poor estate, if the tithes were taken from them, and some who have made Churches their habitation, would not have a dwelling place at all; and some others being ambitious of preferment both in Church and Policy, were no small causes of all this uproar. Now howbeit, from those and such like other motives, this disorder hath come: yet its well dissembled by you, in taking this opportunity, to work your private intended ends, by making the multitude beleive that all is for defence of Religion, Laws and Liberties, which otherwise would be destroyed.

His Holiness our Pope, did never laugh more heartily, than when it was told him, that you made the people believe that the Book of Common Prayer was penned at Rome, and sent to the King, and that it was nothing but the Mass turned into English; and that the King was a Papist, and intended to change the Religion. That your Bishops were Pensioners to the Pope, and that all, who would not subscribe your Covenant, are Papists; truly he commended your Policy, to catch children with wiles, and men with lies. The aspersions you have cast upon King, Bishops, and Anticovenanters will make you noble. It's a good policy still to complain of Court and State, and to pry into great mens lives, to pick out some fault, and to make faults where we find none: still with *Abalom* saying, The men who have good and right causes have no man to hear them, *Oh that I were made Judge in the land, that every man which hath any suit or cause, might come unto me, and I would do him justice.* Thus the silly multitude will lightly apprehend that you are blameless, who do so narrowly try, and cry out against, the faults of others, whom howbeit you do not wound, yet in the vulgar opinion you do greatly stain and blot them.

2 Sam. 15.

3<sup>d</sup> 4<sup>th</sup>

XVI.

Finally, we have both suffered much of our enemies for our practice against Kings and Princes, in cutting them away that are enemies to the religion. We need not be ashamed to confess, that the armour wherewith such Kings are killed, are forged in our shop: you know that *Hacker* and *Coppinger* who

wrote

wrote to Scotland to *James Gibson*, that he with the advice of the brethren, might tell their opinion concerning the spirit that moved them, and the act that they had in hand to be done, for the delivery of *T. Cartwright* out of prison, and killing of all their withstanders. That which *Raviliack* did *effectu*, was no more praise-worthy than that which they did *affectu*: all those our works are not to be accounted points of *treason*, but onely *sensible expressions* of our Heroical Zeal to the defence of *Religion*, which ought to be more dear to us, than Kings or Princes, father or mother, brother or sister, all those cords must be broke, and bonds cast from us, when we see them to set themselves to take counsel against the Lords Anointed. Such men of courage who put their life in their hand, and cut off such wicked men, ought to be so far from being counted Traitors, that they should be rewarded for doing it, as your *Buchanan* sayes. *Knox* in his history of Scotland commends the privy murdering of the Cardinal of *St. Andrews* perpetrated by *Norman Lesley* Son to the Earl of *Rothsey*, and *James Melvin* calls it a godly fact, and propones it as an example to be followed by the posterity.

In your Zions plea, and others papers, you speak excellently of that Heroical fact of *Felton* your Martyr, and pathetically exhort the Nobles of the Land to follow his footsteps, saying, *God hath chalked out the way unto you, God having offered himself to guide you by the hand, in giving this first blow, will you not follow home? the sprinkling of the blood of the Wolf, if we can follow the Lord in it, may prove a means to save us. The Counsel of Hushai to Absalom sorteth well with this business, that all Israel should be gathered from Dan to Beersheba, as the sand on the sea in number, who may with the Ropes of their Prayers joyned to the power of your hands, draw the City of their Babel into the river of destruction, untill there be not one small stone found.* Du. Buck.

You have most zealously embraced this profitable exhortation; and albeit your intended work took but small success, yet let not this interruption bequench your zeal, nor cause your Heroical spirits to fail, but be forward in this cause, and let all your words be spoken by Talents, that authority may see that you do not fear it. Let our example

Payne epist. to  
F.

encourage you, and your example encourage us. It was to this purpose manfully said by one of you. *Our zeal to Gods glory, our love to his Church, and the due planting of the same, in this horseheaded age, should be so warm, and stirring in us, as not to care what adventure we give, and what censure we abide, &c. The Jesuites and Seminaries their diabolical boldness (he wrongs us in his Epithet, seeing he followes our way) will cover our faces with shame.*

Practice of  
Prelates.

It's true indeed, so long as we are not able to resist, and make our party good by strength of hand, there is a necessity that we must suffer, and like the poor man *we must use entreaty*: for its our wisdom to consider the times, when we may be forward, and when not. Hence it was that in the dayes of Queen Elizabeth, when your power was little, that your answer was humble: for when the State and Clergy of England charged your sort of men with *faction, sedition and schisme*, and judged that if you were not curbed betimes, you would bring desolation on Church and policy: your answer was mild (though it might seem to your adversaries mixt with passion, pride and Hypocrisy) while you said. *Peace was by those men kept inviolate, for which of them ever dealt disorderly, or tumultuously? who ever of them in word or deed gave out any just suspicion of unpeaceable dealing? nay have they not in their ministry, in their examples, striven for peace more than any?* for this cause (as your Buchan well observeth with us) *Paul writing to the Romans sayes, Let every soul be subject to superiour powers. Paul (sayes hee) writes this in the infancy of the Church, there were but few Christians then, not many of them rich, or of ability, so as they were not ripe for such a purpose, as if a man should write to such Christians as are under the Turk, in substance poor, in courage feeble, in strength unarmed, in number few, and generally subject to all kind of injuries: would he not write as Paul did? So as the Apostle did respect the men whom he wrote unto, and his words are not to be extended to the body, or people of a Common-wealth, or whole city. And he tells us in this case, if Paul were alive and did see wicked Kings reigning in Christian Common-wealths, Paul would say, That he accounted no such for Magistrates, he would forbid all men for speaking unto them, and from keeping them*

Buch. de jure  
reg. pag. 50.  
Ibid. pag. 56.

ibid. pag. 57.

them Company: he would leave them to their subjects to be punished: neither would he blame them, if they accounted no such longer for their Kings. And as Bellarm. sayes, *Talis consensu omnium potest, imo debet privari suo dominio. Si hoc priscis temporibus minus factum sit, causa est, quia deerant vires.* Such a King by the consent of all may, yea ought to be deprived of his dominion: if this in old times was not done, the cause was, because they had no strength.

Bel. lib. 3. de Pont. cap. 7.

But now the times are changed, *Hac atas alios mores postulat*, this age requireth other manners, spare not big words, tell the head its sick, press the people to armes too, strike the Basilike vein, since nothing but that will cure the Plurisie of your estate. Your strength is great, yea so great that you profess your selves invincible, if you keep unity and verity, that is the doctrine which I congratulate.

Covenanters inform for Defensive. §. 2.

Certainly, you have an invincible General, your head Lesley. And as there is great union between us, in doctrine and practice; so I perceive a great similitude between both our Generals, our Ignatius Loyola, and your Lesley. As for their birth I cannot compare them, for neither Maphams, nor Ribadeneira, nor Valderana, nor Becanus, nor any that writes his life, tells us, who were his parents; so that it seems *pater Ignatii fuit du-bii generis, & mater communis generis.* As for his life, we deny not the truth, for as our own writers say of his childhood, *Satis constat eum in pueritiâ profanos admodum hausisse spiritus.* It is certain, that in his childhood he drew in very prophane spirits. And in *adolescenciâ, militia ac vanitati sese dedit.* In his childhood, he gave himself to wars and vanity, being ready to serve any man for his pay, so that our Ribadeneira calleth him *Vanitatis vile mancipium*, A vile slave of vanity.

Maphams in Vita Ignat. lib. 1 cap. 2.

Ribad. de vita Ignat. lib. 1.

7.

But at Pompeiopolis being courageously fighting, his leg was sore wounded, and it was good for him, for *accepto hoc luculento vulnere, ad Deum conversus est.* Having gotten this great wound, he was converted to God, and his leg was amended; but yet, *non nihil claudicavit, sed honestè, & quod ambulandi moderatione tegeretur.* He halted a little, but decently, and which he might hide by the moderation of his walking, and become the founder and general of our holy

Becan.

Ribad. lib. 4. cap. 18.

*Society.* All this hath hapned to your General, in his childhood, youth-hood, in his wound, in his halting, in his conversion, and becomming General of your holy Society. But from the halting of both our Generals, the *Anticovenanters* draw an ominous conclusion, that we are like *Israel* in the dayes of *Elias*, halting between God and Baal, and running crooked courses. But notwithstanding our halting, they shall find that we can run, and give them matter enough to work on. They have so sensibly found it so, in our General *Ignatius*, that all in our Church, who are not of our order, wish that he had never been hurt in War, that so he might have there remained, and never turned home, where in peace he doth more hurt, then he did in Wars; for abroad (say they) he fought against the common enemy, but at home, he raiseth and fostereth seditions and treasons against Princes. The same do many of you say of *Lesley*, and apply that to him, which our men speak of our *Loyola*.

*Quam bello plus pace nocet, & ad otia versus*

*Crudelis animum vertis ad insidias.*

*Scotia & in media conscripto milite regnas,*

*Diraq; (fraterno nomine) bella geris.*

But I pray you, as we have followed our General *Ignatius* his command, by yielding up our selves, our wills and judgments *cacâ obedientiâ*, as he did require; so do you with your General, in following his command and directions. And so much rather I require this of you, because I hear, there are  
 1 Cor. II. 18. *divisions among you, and partly I beleive it, for there must be also Heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest.* But you may amend this breach, consider wisely, where the division is likeliest to be, and prepare your salve for every mans sore, and your bait for every mans humour. If it be among the Nobility, then extol and praise what they have done, tell that all mens eyes are upon them, as the noble reformers of the Land; let them hear of the noble facts of their progenitors, commend perseverance, and shew them what cowardize is, and what infamy will follow to yield to their Prince. Put them in remembrance of that noble sentence of ours, *Si nobilitas in usus possit vitam servare fugiendo, non*  
 Tacit. lib. cap. 5 *tene-*



*tenetur (si inde infamiam contrahat) fugere, sed hostem occidere potest.* If a noble man being invaded may save his life by flying, yet he is not bound to fly, if he contract infamy thereby, he is rather bound to kill his enemy, much less to yield. Let the women in the streets continue to prefer those young *Dauids* ten times above their Prince, and still pray for them. And if there be any of the Nobility of greater worth, tell them, that the whole business depends upon them, and that you will do all by their direction, and that they shall be made immortal, by recording their acts to posterity to come.

If you fear division in the ministry, it's easie to help that, keep those under, who are not zealous in your cause: let them not be acquainted with your mysteries, nor be chosen Commissioners for assemblies: if there be any matter of importance to be commended to the people, send either jointly or severally, some zealous ministers to their Pulpits, to rouse up the multitude, and put the like edge upon such cold-rise Ministers, and if they become not more zealous, put them in fear of *Deprivation*.

If you fear any division among the Commons, it's likely that some of them have seen the Kings extraordinary favour toward them; but you ought to be careful, that they see not the Kings Proclamations; and if any hath seen them, let them be persuaded, that his Majesties Proclamations have this only end, to divide them, and then to destroy them; and that all other fair promises shall have no real performances. Be not you behind the King in your promises to them also, and howbeit, you have a hundred thousand pound to take of them, yet be not suddain, but by delaying, put them in hope that you will never exact it: For if you go now to exact it, it will make them to repine and grumble, and say, instead of *Salomons* easie Yoke, we are oppressed with *Rehoboams* heavy burdens, and so make a rupture, and return every man to his tent, and in their end submit themselves to their *Salomon* again. And especially, let the ruling Elders command their ruled Elders, or Ministers, to be diligent in season and out of season, to keep the multitude in their zealous humour; for if they do not uncessantly blow upon them, they will be like

*mare mortuum*, and never be moved. Cease not to possess them with an evil opinion, of all who oppose themselves to your courses either by word or writing, make them believe that all, that writ against your confederacy, are unnatural enemies to their Country, and that it is not against your faction which they do, but against the Church and Kingdome; and suffer no man to deny this to be a National quarrel, or to call it a Faction, and all that refuse to cast in their lot with you, call them the cursed inhabitants of *Meroz*, that will not help you against the mighty.

Knox hist. of  
the Church of  
Scotland. pag.  
364.

And let all that follow their King, be called the *Kings faction*, according to the example of your Progenitors, who called all that followed the Queen, *a faction*, which they could punish, as *Traytors*; *whensoever God should put the sword of justice in their hands*, that is, when they should find themselves able to depose the Queen, (as they did) and repress her Subjects. There is another thing which I desire you to remember to try where those Ministers, that have been most opposite to our doctrines and practises, have had their residence in the ministry, that you may place able and zealous men for our cause in those same places, to build up the people which they have destroyed. This work is well begun by you, in bringing *Henderson* from the Country, to the town of *Edinburgh*, *Dikson* to *Glasgow*, and *Rhetorfort* and *Blair* (who could not get liberty to vent our Doctrine elsewhere) to *S. Andrews*. And in particular let them be careful over the Students in Colledges, *Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem testa diu*.

And as for those, who like the men of *Succoth*, and the inhabitants of *Meroz*, refused to joyn with you, its well that you did not take the *thornes of the wilderness*, and bryers to teach them, to beat down their houses, this may content them, albeit you restore not their goods, which you took while you plundered their houses. Though they be busie seeking it, yet you are not bound according to our rules, *Nullus tenetur cum vita periculo, aut fama rem alterius restituere, sunt enim vita & fama nobilioris ordinis quam res*. No man is bound with the danger of his life or good name to restore another man his goods again; for life and a good name are of a more noble

Tolet. lib. 5.  
cap. 37.

noble order than goods are: for albeit there be no danger of your life to restore every man his own, yet your name is not safe, for if you restore to each man his goods again, at least it will be a *tacite* acknowledging of your robbery, and that is hurtful to a good name. But some say, that it is a matter of conscience, to restore a mans goods again, which is better than a good name, yea the way to recover a good name: but I refer this to the Schooles.

I have some matter of expostulation with you, but I will be loth to do it now, who have begun to congratulate with you for that sweet *Harmony* both in *opinions* and *reasons* which is of late grown up amongst us. Rome was not builded in one day, we must not look that at the first you can receive all our Doctrine, though in a short time you have profited much. *Et vos conversi convertite fratres.* Master Cant could preach at Glasgow, in what need England and Ireland standeth of the Covenant, where some have their ears cut for the defence of the truth, and are groaning under the tyranny of the Whore of Babel. And since so it is, you should pity the blindness of those people, who have not a learned man in England or Ireland to lead them, but the blind leader the blind; But I perceive you are not negligent herein, your Ironical preterition is most notable, while you say, *We do not meddle with the Kirks of England or Ireland, but recommend to them the pattern shewn on the Mount.* But what pattern of the mount is this I pray you? is it the Pattern shewn by you on Dunce hill, called by your preachers *mount Sion*, with an army against the face of your King? if it be so its a worthy pattern that requireth imitation. But if the Pattern on the mount be the *Pattern of your discipline*, you do well herein, to imitate your progenitors: for they were desirous to have *Episcopacy* thrown down in England as you are now, or as we are desirous; for their pride is so great, that the least of them sayes, that they have no more dependance from the Pope, than he from them: that their calling and place is of as great power and authority, as his is within his *diocese*, thus limiting the *universall Bishop*, as if he were onely a *Diocesan*. Yea they are not ashamed to say, that all the Popish Bishops are but

Answer to the  
Marquess of  
Hamiltons de-  
claration.

Form. Jura.  
Bulla Pii. 4.

Carol. Molm.  
consil. super  
Concil. Triden.  
21

Greg-lib. 7.  
ep. 70.

but equivocally called Bishops, and univocally are the Popes slaves: for as they have their power and authority from the Pope, so are they tyed to his obedience by oath. *Romano pontifici veram obedientiam spondeo ac iuro.* I promise and swear to give true obedience to the Pope of Rome. So that as the Bishops of *Apulia* said, so (say they) must all Popish Bishops say, *Nos nihil aliud sumus præterquã creatura & mancipia pontificis.* We are no other thing but the creatures and slaves of the Pope. And since the Pope will be only universal Bishop, and all the rest depending upon him, as their head, they tell our Bishops in the words of *Gregory*. *Si unus universalis est, restat ut vos episcopi non sitis.* If there be one universal Bishop, it remaineth that you are no Bishops. Therefore I say, seeing your Bishops are greater enemies to our Hierarchy, than your selves are; you shall want no help that we can afford, to have them removed. I have seen your *Gibsons* letter to *Coppinger*, *Hackers* fellow labourer in *England*: Where he sayes, *The best of our Ministers are most careful of your estate, and had sent for that effect, a Preacher of our Church this last Summer (1590) of purpose to confer with the best affected Ministers of your Church, to lay down a Plot, how our Church may best travel for your releif.* But you do as well to send libels and informations, as to go in your own persons.

But before I proceed any further either in my congratulation or exhortation, I must relate unto you what I heard of that Anticovenanter, of whom I spake lately, when he read, *That you did recommeod to the Church of England and Ireland the Pattern on the Mount.*

‘ This (sayes he) brings to my remembrance a pretty Apologue written by *Melancthon*. *Vulpecula cauda amissa reliquis vulpibus callide persuasit, ut similiter & ipsa caudam rescarent, ne sola turpis & deformis in suo genere videretur.* A Fox having lost her tail, craftily perswaded the other Foxes, that they would likewise cut of their tails, lest she her self alone, should seem the foul & deformed beast off all that kind. Thus is their case who recommend their pattern to others. But certainly, while they thus labour to remove *Episcopacy*, as unlawful, and set up a new discipline as the only lawful in Christs Church

Church, they do differ as much from their first Reformers,  
 as wisemen do from mad-men. For it is certain, that even  
 Calvin who first invented this discipline, did it not because  
 he judged *Episcopacy* antichristian, or unlawful, much less  
 did he recommend *his discipline* as a pattern to others: but it  
 was only meer necessity which moved him, for if those  
 who were Bishops at the Reformation would have forsaken  
 the Pope as their head, and embraced the reformed Religion,  
 their calling had never been called in question, as appeareth  
 by the words of Calvin to Cardinal Sadolete, *Talem nobis*  
*hierarchiam si exhibeant, in qua sic emineant Episcopi, ut Calvin. Epist.*  
*Christo subesse non recusent, ut ab illo tanquam unico capite pen-* ad Card. Sa-  
*deant, & ad ipsum referantur: in qua sic inter se fraternam se-* dolet.  
*cietatem colant, ut non alio modo, quam ejus veritati sint colli-*  
*gati, tum vero, nullo non anathemate dignos fatear, si qui erunt,*  
*qui non eum reverenter, summoq; obedientia observent.* If they  
 do bring unto us such an *Hierarchy*, wherein the Bishops shall  
 be so preferred, that they refuse not to submit themselves  
 to Christ, that they also depend upon him as their onely  
 head, and have their relation to him, in which Hierarchy  
 they may so keep brotherly society amongst themselves, that  
 they be not otherwayes knit together, but by his truth:  
 then surely if there shall be any, that shall not submit them-  
 selves to that *Hierarchy* reverently, and with the greatest o-  
 bedience that may be, I confess there is no kind of curse  
 whereof they are not worthy. A sore sentence for a covenan-  
 ter. Beza likewise himself hearing that some did offend at  
 the innovation of discipline (which necessity put upon them)  
 and thought that he and his colleagues did set out the same  
 as a pattern for other Churches to follow, was not a little  
 displeased, and told that it was never their intention to pre-  
 scribe such a discipline, where the old might be kept, he  
 wisheth them to keep it still. *Fruantur igitur illo qui volunt*  
*& poterunt.* Therefore let them enjoy Episcopal government  
 who desire and may do it: and sayes in that same place, *Ab-*  
*sit ut hunc ordinem temere aut superbe reprehendam,* God forbid  
 that I should rashly or proudly forbid that order, and there-  
 fore in the 21. chap. of the cited book, having spoken of

Beza de grad.  
 ministr. cap. 25.

' the tyranny of the *Popish Bishops* did hinder the reformati-  
 ' on, he tels us, that he doth neither mean *Protestant Bishops*,  
 ' nor yet set forth their discipline, as a *Pattern* to be followed.  
 ' *Nec tamen huius tyrannidis omnes archiepiscopos, seu episcopos*  
 ' *hodie vocatos accusamus : qua fuerit enim hac arrogantia ? imò*  
 ' *cunctos, sic hodie appellatos (modo sanctissimorum illorum E-*  
 ' *piscoporum exemplum imitentur, & tam misere deformatam do-*  
 ' *mm Dei, ex verbi divini regulâ instantent) ut ecclesia Chri-*  
 ' *ana fidos pastores, cur non agnoscamus, & omni reverentia*  
 ' *prosequamur ? nedum ut (quod falsissimè & impudentissimè*  
 ' *nonnulli nobis obijciunt) cupiam uspiam ecclesia sequendum*  
 ' *nostrum peculiare exemplum prescribamus.* And yet we  
 ' do not accuse all, that are this day called *Archbishops* or  
 ' *Bishops*, of this tyranny : for what arrogancy were  
 ' that ? yea, why should we not acknowledge, and honour  
 ' with all reverence, all that are this day so called, as the  
 ' faithful Pastors of the Christian Church : so being they  
 ' would imitate the example of those most holy Bishops in  
 ' the Primitive Church, and reform by the rule of Gods word  
 ' the deformed house of God ? much less that we should pre-  
 ' scribe to any Church in any place, *our peculiar example to be*  
 ' *followed*, which most falsely and most shamelessly some object  
 ' unto us. So the authors of the *Anglican Confession* declare  
 ' ingeniously, that it was not any dislike at *Episcopal govern-*  
 ' *ment*, but the cruelty of *Popish Bishops*, who did by all means  
 ' hinder the reformation of Religion, which did dissolve that  
 ' government and Canonical policy, *quam magnopere cupie-*  
 ' *bamus conservare*, which we earnestly desired to preserve.  
 ' And therefore, seeing *Popish Bishops* were in place then, and  
 ' *Protestant Bishops* could not be set in their place, they decla-  
 ' red to the world in their confession, that (notwithstanding  
 ' it was removed) they did approve it; and were so free from  
 ' having the fault imputed to them, that it did not remain  
 ' among them; that they were most willing it should be  
 ' continued, if those *Popish Bishops* would forbear their per-  
 ' secution, and turn *Protestants*, and study to advance the  
 ' *Reformation*. For they say, *Hic iterum testatam volumus, nos*  
 ' *libenter conservaturos esse ecclesiasticam & canonicam poli-*  
 ' *tiam,*

Augustan.  
 Confes. Artic.  
 14.

ibidem.



*tiam, si modo Episcopi definant in nostras Ecclesias seviré.*  
*Hac nostra voluntas, & coram Deo, & apud omnes gentes*  
*ad omnem posteritatem excusabit nos, ne nobis imputari possit,*  
*quod episcoporum auctoritas labefactetur.* Here again, we  
 will have it testified, that we shall willingly keep still the  
 Ecclesiastical and Canonical policy, if so be the Bishops  
 will forbear to rage against our Churches. This is our will,  
 and it shall excuse us before God, among all Nations to all  
 posterity, that it cannot be imputed to us, that the authority  
 of Bishops is decayed. And again, in that same confession  
 they say, *Sape jam testati sumus, nos non solum potestatem Ec-* *Ibid. de potest.*  
*clesiasticam, qua in Evangelio instituta est, summâ pietate ve-* *Eccles.*  
*nerari, sed etiam Ecclesiasticam politiam, & gradus in Ecclesia*  
*magnopere probare, & quantum in nobis est conservare cupere :*  
*non detrectamus auctoritatem Episcoporum, modo non cogant*  
*facere contra mandatum Dei. Hac voluntas liberabit nos coram*  
*Deo, & iudicio universæ posteritatis, ne judicemur rei hujus*  
*schismatis, quod initio excitatum est injustâ damnatione doctri-*  
*nae Lutheri.* We have already oftentimes testified, that we, not  
 onely with the greatest piety that can be, do reverence that  
 Ecclesiastical power instituted in the Gospel, but also do  
 very much approve the Ecclesiastical policy, and degrees in  
 the Church, and desire to keep them, as much as we can; We do  
 not refuse the authority of Bishops, if so be they do not  
 compel us to do against the Command of God. This our  
 will shall deliver us before God, and in the judgement of  
 all our posterity, that we be not judged guilty of that  
 Schism, which at the beginning was raised by the unjust  
 condemning of the Doctrine of Luther. O how far do  
 those Covenanters differ from those Reformers ! How can  
 they clear themselves before God, the Reformed Churches,  
 and the ages to come, who have have made this great Schism ?  
 They not onely have condemned, that which all reformed  
 Churches do commend, but also study to hatch the Cockatrice  
 egg, and bring forth Serpents, Schismes and rebellions in  
 other calm Churches, who live at peace. Look how far  
 these Reformers did tender Episcopacy, as much do these  
 Covenanters hate it : It is not sufficient to them, to have

1 Kings. 1. 6.

' thrust from them without any cause their Bishops, (except  
 ' it be that the Bishops have carried themselves to them, as  
 ' David did to Adonijah. And his father did not displease him at  
 ' any time, in saying, Why hast thou done so ? by which too gen-  
 ' tle dealing, they gave them occasion to rise up against them)  
 ' but they themselves must be *ἀγοραιοι καὶ βίβλοι*, butie Bishops in  
 ' another mans Diocess ; yea, be *universal Bishops*, within the  
 ' Kings Dominions, by their senseless (yet malicious) libels  
 ' and letters, to his Majesties good Subjects in *England* and  
 ' *Ireland*, labouring to produce the like *Disorders* among them,  
 ' that they should not remain alone filthy and deformed in  
 ' the Church of God. Howbeit, all good and learned men (e-  
 ' ven among those, who have not *Episcopal government*) do  
 ' declare their dutiful and reverent respects to Bishops ; yet,  
 ' for the accomplishment of their bad ends, it hath been their  
 ' chief labour, first and last, to make Bishops most odious and  
 ' contemptible to all men.

' Thus *Cant* at *Glasgow* in his Sermon (because the Bishop  
 ' of *Glasgow* did dwell in the Castle, near to the Cathedral  
 ' Church) told the people, that *Satan* had his dwelling among  
 ' them, and *Antichrist* had a nest among them : and cried, pull  
 ' down, pull down *Antichrists nest*, with many other expressi-  
 ' ons, more worthy of the speaker, than of the Hearers ; there  
 ' wanted nothing to draw the multitude to the perpetrating  
 ' of a mischief against that old reverend Father, but that God  
 ' suffered not any to be a head to the furious multitude.

Sions Plea,  
 pag. 196.

' Thus they have too obsequiously observed the direction  
 ' of their book entituled, *Sions Plea*: Where it's said, *Mini-  
 ' sters and Magistrates must labour, and cause others to labour, for  
 ' an holy hatred of Prelates, and their brethren, with an holy ha-  
 ' tred, to dash the brains of the Babylonish Prelacy against the  
 ' stones.* And according to *Luke 19. 27.* But those mine enemies,  
 ' that would not that I should raigne over them, bring hither, and  
 ' slay them before me And strike that *Hizael* in the fifth rib, yea,  
 ' if father or mother stand in the way, away with them. Strike the  
 ' *Basilike vein*, for nothing but this will cure the *Plurisie* of this  
 ' our state, This is notable policy, and as well learned by the  
 ' Covenanters, as taught by their masters, and they have made  
 such

' such proficiency herein, that they stand in more need of a  
 ' *Bridle*, than of a *Spur*; they have by lies and calumnies with  
 ' the changeable multitude so prevailed, that they have not so  
 ' much as any being among them, but as they say, *Have sweep*  
 ' *the dirt and dust out of Gods house, and sent them to the land of*  
 ' *Nod*. But yet, I think be to *God*, notwithstanding  
 ' their throwing stones at them, they have not dash't their  
 ' brains against the stones, and for *Hazels* fifth rib, they have  
 ' onely smote a bishops Coach-horse. And as for this *Basilike*  
 ' *vein*, which they would have stricken, it's of a higher na-  
 ' ture, than the killing of Bishops; for it's borrowed from  
 ' the Jesuites, who by this phrase, understand the killing of  
 ' Kings and Princes: Wherefore one of them said, *Erratum Carol. Scribar*:  
 ' *valde fuisse in festo Bartholomæi, quod secta non fuerit vena*  
 ' *Basilica, id est, quod paritum fuit regi Navarra, & principi*  
 ' *Condensi*. It was a great fault, that in the feast of *Bartholomew*  
 ' the Basilike vein was not stricken, that is to say, that the  
 ' King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Condé* was let alone.  
 ' But they have done as much as they can, to strike at this  
 ' Basilisk vein through the Bishops sides. For I remember,  
 ' when at the beginning of these disorders many did ask why  
 ' they did make the Bishops their adversaries, and complain  
 ' upon them, since they did never require any thing, but by  
 ' warrant of his Majesties authority, whom they ought to o-  
 ' bey; it was usually answered, *Som: man must be whipped, and*  
 ' *rather the Bishops than any*. Gods know how foul a Com-  
 ' menter this might suffer. And as for those calumnies, filthy  
 ' ballads, which these men set out to the disgrace of them-  
 ' selves, rather than those whom they hate; they deserve no  
 ' other answer, than that of the Prophet, *The vile person will* *Esa. 31. 6.*  
 ' *speak villany, and his heart will work iniquity, to practise hypo-*  
 ' *crisie; and to utter error against the Lord, &c.* And in parti-  
 ' cular, this sentence doth justly appertain to that vile per-  
 ' son *Alexander Sempil*, who for whoredome, drunkenness,  
 ' and all kind of Licentiousness, hath not a second in *Scot-*  
 ' *land*, and now by means of whorish women, is brought to a piece *Prov. 6. 16.*  
 ' of bread, and extreme poverty, having nothing left but a de-  
 ' crepit body, an intoxicate brain, and railing tongue: so that

So he prints  
himself AS.

- ' I wonder, who could be so base, as to lend him their hand to  
 ' write for him that foolish, (but seditious) ballad, called the  
 ' *Bishops bridles*. And I marvel more, that the Covenanters  
 ' have made this *pattern of wickedness*, to be their fittest man  
 ' to present to *England and Ireland* their *pattern on the Mount*,  
 ' for they print nothing there now without the approbation  
 ' of one *Johnson*, Clerk of their assemblies. This *AS* or  
 ' *Alexander Sempil* is so beastly and apish, that he can find  
 ' no other *matter or subject* for his ballad, but to allude to one  
 ' *Rew's* preaching on *Balaams* as, which they make to be the  
 ' Church of *Scotland*, that have thrown of the Bishops, their  
 ' riders: and therefore must sell their bridles. This preacher  
 ' *Rew*, did not put shame enough upon that Church, but this  
 ' *AS* must second him, and continue its shame. That of the  
 ' Wiseman is fit for them, *A whip for the horse, a bridle for the*  
 ' *As, and a rod for the fools Backs*.  
 Proy. 26. 3. ' But since they delight in this comparison, and will have  
 ' their Church to be an *As*, and the Bishops their riders; I  
 ' shall not displease them so to call it. But let them remember  
 ' that the Bishops rode upon this *As*s meekly, dealing with  
 ' them, *not with the rod; but in love, with the spirit of meekness*.  
 1 Cor. 4. 21. ' But the Lay-Bishops have thrown them off, and now ride  
 ' so furiously like *Jehu*, that we complain with the Psalmist.  
 ' *Thou hast caused men to ride over our heads, we went through*  
 a Psal. 66. 11. ' *fire and water: they drive and go forward, and slack not their*  
 b 2 Kings. 4. ' *riding: they study to make her a wild c As used to the wilder-*  
 24. ' *ness, that snuffeth up the wind at her pleasure, and is so far*  
 c Jer. 2. 24. ' *drawn away in the wilderness, that his Majesty hath ta-*  
 ' *ken more pains to find her out, and bring her from her*  
 ' *wandering, than Saul did in seeking his fathers Asses*, he  
 ' fought his Fathers asses but three dayes, but his Majesty hath  
 ' fought this *as* three years. There is no question but she  
 ' would be found and return, for the *as* *knowes her Masters*  
 ' *crib*: but her riders will not suffer her, perswading her that  
 ' his Majesty will miserably handle her: though they assured-  
 ' ly know themselves, that his Majesty will do no more harm  
 ' to her, than the Lion did to the *as*, whereon the seduced  
 1 King. 13. 23. ' Prophet rode, *the Lion did not tear the As*, the Scripture  
 sayes,

' sayes, but killed the seduced rider. This is the onely fear  
 ' they have, not for the ass, but for the riders, who have justly  
 ' provoked the *Lions wrath*, as the messenger of death; and to  
 ' be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond Jer. 22. 19.  
 ' the gates of Jerusalem. Here the Anticovenanter would  
 have proceeded, but I not being desirous to trouble my self in  
 dispute with him, cut him off with your words. The Cove-  
 nanters are exhorted not to be moved with remonstrances, were  
 they never so specious, but submit themselves obediently to follow  
 their leaders, whom God at this time hath largely furnished with  
 courage and counsel for the good of his Kirk and Kingdome. But  
 he answered me, The leaders of this people cause them to err, and  
 they that are led of them, are destroyed. Covenanters  
inform. for  
Defensive. §. 4.  
Esa. 9. 16.

But leaving him, I return to my exhortation. If you can-  
 not perswade men to your pattern on the mount, at least la-  
 bour to possess them with the opinions and doctrines, which  
 you have received of us. Especially this is the duty of *Blair*  
 and *Livingston*, to water the good seed which they have sown  
 in some of the hearts of some of your countrey-men in the  
 North part of Ireland: and by their frequent exhortations  
 and letters, to perswade them to grow, and be fruitful in  
 those matters. Especially let them, by fearful threatnings of  
 Gods judgements, affright them from taking that unlawful  
 oath which establisheth the Kings Supremacy, and is urged  
 by my Lord Deputy, (to whom, I confess, his Masters honour  
 is more dear, than the Apple of his eye) so violently, that he  
 will suffer no man to vilipend it, but will have them  
 swear such an oath, that they shall never take armes a-  
 gainst their King, nor protest against him, but to obey his roy-  
 al commands. Whereby thus violently he hath put your cove-  
 nant out of credit among the Scots there, except you provide  
 some remedy.

I hear that not only *Blair* and *Livingston*, but that *Rhe-  
 torfort*, and *Dickson* also, have lent their helping hand, and  
 have written a learned refutation of that Oath to be taken  
 by the Scots there. I am sorry that I did not see it, that I  
 might have increased my congratulation. Did you ever see  
 the two Apostolike briefs, which our holy Father *Paulus* 5.  
 sent

sent to the Catholikes in England, that were urged with the same Oath, that is pressed upon your brethren now ? Or did you ever read *Bellarmines* letter to *Blackwel*? if you did, they have helped you well in that matter, I am sure. *Becanus* tells us the sum of all which the Pope and Cardinal did write.

*Becan. dissid.  
Angl.*

*Uterque negat salvā conscientia praestari posse hoc juramentum a rege propositum, quia abnegarent fidem Catholicam.* They both deny, that that oath prescribed by the King, can be taken with a safe conscience, because they would deny the Catholike Faith. They say, you say the same, onely you add many fearful judgements upon both the *exalter* and *taker* of the same. And therefore you may say of them that take this oath, as *Becanus*

*Ibid.*

doth, *Hoc faciunt ad extremam pacem & politiam conservandam, quae pluris ab illis, quam fides & religio aestimatur, idcirco politici potius quam Christiani appellandi sunt.* They do this that they may preserve outward peace, which they esteem more than of Faith and Religion : and therefore they ought rather

*Becan. refut.  
Tortura Torti.  
cap. 1. parad.*

to be called *Politicians* than *Christians*. For no man will grant the Kings *Supremacy*, exceptio *Sacellano*, & quibusdam aliis *adulatoribus regis*. Except the Kings Chaplain, (Bishop *Andrews*) and some other *Court Parasites*. And here by the way I must tell you a notable untruth of that *Bishop Andrews*, in his dispute against *Bellarmino*: he holds that the *Puritans* do willingly take the oath of *Supremacy*. But albeit he was πῦρ λῶν & having five tongues, yet with none of his five tongues could he speak true in this, as our *Becanus* proveth from no less than the testimony of his own Master *K. James*, in his *Basil. Doron*. But I find one *Richardus Thomson* in *Ecce lexbo refutationis Tortura Torti*, defending *Andrews*, and reconciling him with his master, by telling, that the King spake of Scots *Puritans*; and the Bishop of *English Puritans*. Whether this may satisfy or not, I leave it to a farther inquiry.

If the forlorn brother of our society *Abernethy* hath done our Church any service among you, in the fathering and promoting this your happy *return* to us; he hath so well deserved, that there is hope for him to be received of us again. Howbeit his crimes were so ugly, that we did exclude him from our Church and orders; yet sufficient to this man is the punishment inflicted



inflicted upon him by many. For he hath reconciled himself (as the people of *Gath* feared *David* would do) with your heads and hearts: in enlightning your brain with the knowledge, and your hearts with the love of many principal points of our doctrine, Exhort him to continue to the end. *I endeavoured my self to have come unto you, I desired to see you earnestly, and would have come unto you once and again, but Satan hindered me.*

Though in this my *Congratulatory Epistle*, I have sometimes inserted my counsel and exhortation unto you, let not this displease you, as if I thought you deficient herein, or that you had need of spurs, who run with born-down head. For all my exhortations are nothing else, but a pleasant repetition of your doings, and a sympathizing expression of our conjunct approbation thereof. So that my recommendation of that to your practise, which you are doing, is so far from insinuating you of negligence, that it is rather a commendation of your actions, according to that of the Poet.

*Qui monet ut facias, quod jam facis, ipse monendo  
Landat; & hortatu comprobat ipse suo.*

Salute all our friends, and especially at your night meetings for devotion, salute the sisters with a holy Kiss. To whom you do but your duty when you acknowledge your cause much obliged unto them, and that in those your *Esthers* and *Judiths* your work had but a small beginning: and when men durst not resist the beginnings, it's wisely observed by you, that *God moved the spirit of those holy women to scourge the buyers and-sellers out of Gods house, and not to suffer the same to be polluted with that foul Book of Common Prayer.* Those holy Matrons who wast themselves with *Fasting*, have deserved to well at your hands, that you should exhort them, (as *Paul* did *Timothy*) to take a little wine to comfort them: and to encourage them to proceed zealously in your cause; for they are the weaker vessels, and wine will strengthen them. Read 1 *Esdras* chap. 3. ver. 21. Where it is said thus *Wine is exceeding strong, it makes every heart rich, so that a man remembreth neither King nor Governour, and it maketh to speak all things by talents. And when they are in their cups, they forget their love both to friends and brethren, and a little after draw out swords, &c.* Albeit this be a

passage out of *Apocrypha*, yet your practise sayes it is not false.

Our women here carry a sinister opinion of your women, whom they call *virago's* and *monsters* of women, a disgrace to their sex, man like-women, and a new kind of *Hermaphrodites*; because of their violent and turbulent carriage (as they call it) in abusing all men that are contrary minded, they say,

*Non metunt leges, sed cedit viribus equum,*

*Quámque lupi sava plus feritatis habent.*

That is, they fear no Laws, but equity giveth place to force, and they have more savage cruelty in them than the very Wolves. But our Ladies are mistaken, not knowing that this proceeds from Zeal. *Impetus hic sacra semina mentis habet* This violence of theirs hath the seeds of a holy mind: And they being free-citizens ought to have full freedom: their tongues are their own, what Lord can them control? If *Tyberius* when he was railed upon in the city, took it patiently, saying, *In libera civitate oportet linguam esse liberam*. Why should not free Subjects in a free kingdom, have free tongues, and free hands too? especially of women, when religion is in question. *Guilielmus Postellus* set out a book, which he entituled: *Of the victory of women*. I would have the like done by some of you, especially by him, who gave his ghosly blessing to those *manful* women (who shew their valour against their adversaries, in beating them and their books out of Gods house) *My blessing light upon all my dear Birds all*. Break not off your nocturnal devotions, and assembling together for the better, and not for the worse. But do it more secretly than *Andrew Lesley*, of whom they say, that he forsook *Ireland* to go to the Covenant, the first fruits whereof was, to forsake his wife, to joyn himself with an harlot. The good old Matron of the holy Sisters of *Edinburgb*, did more cunningly cover her daughters infirmity of the flesh, who (as she said to her sisters at their meetings) had fallen into an *holy fornication* with a brother, not out of Lust, but *Love*: and therefore decreed, that she should not confess it before the congregation, lest the Gospel should be scandalized, and that it was better to fall in the hands of God, by swearing that she did not know the man, than to fall in the hands of men, by confessing her carnal fall.

We

R. A.

We say well to this purpose, *Mentire in confessione, non semper est peccatum mortale*. To lye in confession, is not ever a mortal sin: but it was a pitty, that shortly after she had sworn, her swelling belly belied her; and yet, here the *shame* and *scandal* of your devout profession was more than your sin; for that kind of sin is but a *weakness* and *infirmity*, and if it be acted for good ends and intentions, it is no sin at all. Therefore, it's well said by a father of our Society. *Si quis pollutionem desideraret ab hominum finem, scilicet sanitatem, vel ad levandas tentationes, quibus interdum affligitur, non est peccatum*. If any desire, &c.

For a good end, to wit, for *their health*; or to put away the *temptations*, wherewith they are troubled all the day long, it's not a sin. And therefore it's thought, when those holy Sisters are longest out at their night-devotions, they are much amended in their health the next day. And we do also hold, \* *Adulterium inter minora crimina censendum esse*, that Adultery is to be esteemed among smaller crimes; & *esse aliquam honestam fornicationem*, and that there is some *honest fornication*. Or (as that Matron called it) *holy fornication*.

But this is very ominous which I hear, that many husbands will not suffer their wives to frequent those night-meetings as they were wont to do. That is a fearful preface; that that *order* and *society* shall be cryed down, except they get it confirmed by Assembly. For we had a Society of Sisters called, *Congregatio Jesuitissarum*, suppressed by our holy Father Pope Urban the 8. anno 1631. *Quia novum ordinem insinuerunt assumpto Jesuitissarum nomine, --- qua per multa opera sexus, ingenii imbecillitati, & modestia muliebri, virginali prefertim pudori minime convenientia, attentarunt & exercuerunt*. Because they did institute a new order, assuming the name of Jesuitesses, who have attempted and exercised many works, which do not become the weakness of their sex and ingeny, nor the modesty of women; and especially most unbeseeming virginal shamefastness. The like case may befall your society, if it be not prevented; if your *Lecky* and his *Collegues* be not authorized, it's to be feared that the society of those Sisters shall get a down-fall.

I have heard of the great controversy between him and

Robert lib. 3.  
cap. 9.

Idem lib. cap.  
13.

\* De judiciis  
l. 2. Decret. 6.  
Cap. Et Clerici.  
+ Caus. 31.  
qu. 1. Cap. Hæc  
ratione.

Bulla Urban.  
Papa 8. Roma  
edita. 1631.

Some ministers of *Sterlingshire*, and that the matter was debated in your assembly, but what was done, I was not fully informed; only I heard of your moderation, that you thought it not fit, to discharge his new society by act of assembly, but by way of counsel, but he rejects your counsel, and though he hath not an ordinary calling, yet he tells that he hath an extraordinary calling from God, and bids you, behold in the fruits of his labours.

But I am most of all affraid for our selves, though we have an ordinary calling and authority for our order. We are so hated both by friend and foe, at home and abroad, that we are daily perplexed, especially since the adnulling of the *Jesuites* order: upon which some Poet (by way of prophesie, as is thought) made those verses, with a fiat;

*Famineus sexus sociis immixtus Jesu*

*Transcendit sexus munia feminei*

*Non tulit hanc labem URBANI vigilantia Papa,*

*Suppressit Socias, mox Sociosq; premet.*

We have suffered already great hurt in divers places, being hunted to and fro, as if we were Malefactors. And I doubt not but you know how weak we are in *France*, we dare not deny the King of *France* his Supremacy, and must acknowledge his Dominion to be independent, in respect of men, and that the King holds his Kingdome by vertue of, *Per me reges regnant*, by me Kings reign. The Doctors of the University of *Paris* have done us much evil, the Lord reward them according to their works. They have condemned some of the works of our Father *Becanus* in their Universities, and have published the same to the world, whether the Pope would or no, and are also become *Court-Parasites*. And their chief labour is by their doctrine in contradiction to you and us, to corrupt all, especially Noblemens children, that come to their Universities: and at least once a year, make every one of them under their hands, to profess the Kings independent power and authority. Therefore now our holy League is wholly dead, and death seeds upon it in the grave, and we are become vile, and herein are turned *Saduceans*, to deny the resurrection of our holy League, or any such insurrection, so long as such doctors (as the Sorbonists,

*nists*) shall thus infect the land, and make noble and ignoble such Court Parasites. But your case is better than ours at this time: for you have put away from your Universities such as withstood you, and have placed such men in your Universities of *Glasgow* and *S. Andrews* and *Edenburgh*, who will cause the Schollers to drink such a full draught of our doctrine, that they shall vomit out all which your adversaries taught them. We are not so happy, our enemies prevail daily against us. But yours are dying, especially the Archbishop of *S. Andrews*, to whom we wished no better death, nor more honourable burial, than that Martyr and Brother of our Society *John Ogley* got, whom he caused to be hanged at the Cross of *Glasgow*, because he stood to the defence of our doctrine, which he brought within the compass of *Treason*, by the lawes of your kingdome, which I pray you to abrogate. *D. Baron* that great enemy of ours, is also dead (as they say) in persecution. At this we do both rejoyce, as if we had found a great spoyl.

We had also great credit (according to our hearts desire) at *Constantinople* and among the *Galatians*, and divers parts in the East; but by the means of the King of great Brittain, &c. his Ambassador, and *Cyrillus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, (who is of the Religion of the Church of England, and disclaims the Popes jurisdiction, even as the Bishops in England do) We are all banished the Turks bounds, and a Shipful of us was sent home to *Italy* from *Constantinople*. Since we cannot get liberty to remain in the East, we purpose to come to you in the West, where there is neither Patriarch nor Bishop to trouble us, as *Cyrillus* did at *Constantinople*.

But if King *Charles* follow the direction of his Father King *James* our common enemy, your case will be little better than ours was at *Constantinople*. For after he hath directed his son to beware of Puritans, as most pestilent fellows, both in Church and policy, whom neither the Kings favours and bounty, nor their own promises and oaths can make faithful and loyal, but being above measure arrogant, they belch out nothing but calumnies and seditions, and contrary to the word of God follow their own dreams and conceits, as the only rule of their conscience, he sayes most pathetically. *Testor illum magnum*  
Deum

Basilic. doron.  
pag. 148.

*Dauid* (nec testamentum condenti fas est mentiri) nunquam inter montanos aut limitaneos nostros latrones, majorem ingratitude, aut perfidiam reperiri posse, quam inter hos phanaticos nebulones: nec patere, si pacatè vivere decreveris, ut hi eadem tecum patria fruantur, nisi forte patientia experienda ergo, ut *Socrates* vixit cum *Xantippe*. I take the great God to witness, as if I were making my testament (and it is not lawful for him that maketh a testament to lye) that there can never be more unthankfulness, or perfidiousness found among our High-land and bordering robbers, than among those brain-sick villanies. Neither do thou suffer them to enjoy that same country with thee, if thou purpose to live peaceably, unless perchance, for the exercise of thy patience, as *Socrates* lived with *Xantippe*.

This is a dreadful advice, and our case is so miserable, that it is out lot and destiny to be like *Ismael the wild man*, whose hands were against every man, and every mans hands against him. Gen. 16. 12. But let us not be dismayed, nor our hearts melt, nor our hands be faint: but let us joyn hand in hand together, (*Virtus unita fortior*). And we shall speak with the enemy in the gate. And the righteous shall be delivered out of trouble, and the wicked shall come in his stead. Prov. 11. 8.

I have many other things to write unto you, which I will delay till I have the opportunity to write a second Epistle, which shall be, so soon as I hear what fruits this first Epistle shall produce: Which, I pray you cause to be printed among you for your common good, because I could not get many copies sent to you, being so far from you beyond sea. If *AS's Brides* was thought worthy to be printed by your authority, in contempt of the Bishops, why may not this my Epistle be printed, for the edification of your Society? Let it not offend you that I have not railed in this my Epistle against authority in Church and policy: for our Society hath been so oft reprov'd for railing that I do now begin to forbear it, for the honour of our Order, neither will we permit infamous Pasquils longer to come forth, and it were good that you did so too, and let us speak home to the purpose, convincing our adversaries with evident reasons; and make their errors and heresies known to the world, rather than to vent our spleen against them



them with calumnies ; This doth but open the mouth of our adversaries ; but that will stop it : this makes disgrace return upon our selves, but the other, makes us gracious. If we rail, when we should reason, we get no answer, but *inrepet te Dominum*. But when we reason, without railing ; we beget in them *dissentiendi pudorem & veritatis timorem*. A bashfulness to dissent from us, and a reverence of the truth ; which in time, will bring forth a profession of it,

*Far ewell.*

From my Study at Basileopolis  
The first of January  
1640.